

BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES. 1534-1829

Materials towards a biographical dictionary of
Catholic history in the British Isles from the
breach with Rome to Catholic Emancipation.

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FOREWORD

A need has long been felt by those interested in the history of Catholicism in the British Isles since the Reformation, for carrying a stage further the labours of earlier scholars. So much material has come to light since the publication of such standard works as Foley's Records, Gillow's Bibliographical Dictionary, and the Dictionary of National Biography, that it is desirable that the biographies contained in them should be revised and supplemented and that others should be added. Some of this material has already found its way into print, but it is scattered through so many books and periodicals that it is often overlooked. Much more has never been published at all, in great part, perhaps, because there has not been any one recognized work in which such material would find its natural place.

The object of the present publication is to provide the means by which the researches of many individual scholars can gradually be assembled and presented for general use. In addition to separate biographies, it will contain articles covering several generations of family history; and it will also contain briefer studies and notes about men and women for whose lives the collections are still incomplete. These briefer studies and notes will serve the purpose of recording evidence as it comes to light and of stimulating further research, so that they can eventually be incorporated in fuller biographies at a later stage in the work. The intention, therefore, is not to work consecutively through the alphabet from A to Z, nor to cover the period in chronological sequence, but to publish material from anywhere in the field of research as it becomes available.

This work, which is being duplicated in order to avoid both the delays and the high cost of printing, will appear twice

FOREWORD

yearly, in January and July. Each part will contain approximately 80 pages, 8 x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches approximately. In each part after the first will be included a cumulative alphabetical table of contents covering all the parts hitherto published.

Copies will be issued only to subscribers. The annual subscription is 8s. 6d. for the two parts. For the convenience of those whose subscription begins later than the first issue, a limited number of sets of that issue will be held available.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Birt. H. N. Birt: Obit Book of the English Benedictines from 1600-1912. Edinburgh, 1913.
- C.B.E.L. The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature. Cambridge, 1940, etc.
- Challoner
M.M.P. R. Challoner: Memoirs of Missionary Priests. ed. J.H. Pollen. London, 1924.
- C.R.S. Publications of the Catholic Record Society. London, 1905, etc.
- D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography. London, 1885, etc.
- Douai
Diaries
1&2. The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douai. ed. by the Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory. London, 1878.
- Foley. H. Foley: Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus. London, 1875, etc.
- Gillow. J. Gillow: A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics. London, (1885, etc.)
- Kirk. J. Kirk: Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century. ed. J.H. Pollen and E. Burton. London, 1909.

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Knox-Allen. Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen.
ed. T.F. Knox. London, 1882.
- Palmer. C.F.R. Palmer: Obituary Notices of the Friars
Preachers or Dominicans of the English Province,
from ... 1650. London, 1884.
- S.T.C. A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England,
Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books printed
abroad 1475-1640. Compiled by A.W.Pollard &
G.R.Redgrave. The Bibliographical Society: London,
1926.
- Sommervogel. A. & A. De Backer: Bibliotheque de la Compagnie de
Jesus. ed. C. Sommervogel. Brussels, 1890, etc.
- Wing. D.Wing: Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in
England, Scotland, Ireland ... and of English
Books printed in other countries, 1641-1700.
The Index Society: New York, 1945, etc.
-

A. F. Allison

Father Garnet's works were written in England during the last decade of the sixteenth century when the persecution of priests was at its most intense and Catholic literature was systematically suppressed. They were written anonymously and those that were printed were printed secretly, without indication of place or date. The result has been that his bibliography has remained in a state of confusion to this day. The earliest printed list of his writings, in Alegambe's Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu (1643), is inaccurate and incomplete, and little attempt has since been made to supplement it. Southwell's revised edition of Alegambe (1676) reproduces the original list without alteration. Dodd, in The Church History of England (1737-42), also follows Alegambe. The first and only attempt to check Alegambe's list in the light of original documents is to be found in Oliver's Collections...S.J. (1845) which gives some corrections and fresh information based on the Stonyhurst MSS. Gillow combines the findings of Dodd and Oliver, adding some speculations of his own which do not stand the test of investigation. Sommervogel and D.N.B. follow Gillow. The extent to which bibliographers blindly copy one another is not always fully realized. Before any satisfactory study of Father Garnet's life and work can be begun it is essential that his bibliography should be re-established, if possible, from documentary evidence.

The present study is arranged in three parts. The first contains the documentary evidence concerning Father Garnet's works; the second consists of an analysis of the evidence and

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a discussion of each work; the third consists of a catalogue of the early editions of the works that were printed, showing where copies may now be found.

I

There are two primary sources of information on Father Garnet's writings: a) His own letters, and letters written within a few years of his death by those who had worked with him on the English Mission. Some of the originals and copies of others made at Rome by Father Christopher Grene in the second half of the 17th century, are preserved at Stonyhurst and in other Jesuit archives (1). b) a manuscript list of "English Writers of the Society of Jesus", dated 1632, in the archives of the English College, Rome. (Scrittura, no.2, vol. XXX). This list, which seems quite clearly to have been used by Alegambe as his authority for the English writers in his Bibliotheca, is not complete but it is generally accurate as far as it goes.

- a) There are three letters which throw considerable light on Father Garnet's bibliography: a letter of his own, written to Father Persons at Rome in 1601, a letter to Persons in 1607 by Father Richard Holtby who succeeded Garnet as head of the Jesuit Mission in England, and a letter to Persons in 1607 by Father Richard Blunt who was also on the English Mission.

Garnet to Persons. 2 June 1601

"For ye other point of schisme - I wrott a discourse of it, upon necessity to answer objections, and it served ye turne heer, and hindred much evil ... Besides ye treatise of schisme (which was first written with great necessity) I wrote a book of Collections out of Holy Fathers, intituled, Of Christian Renunciation, which I was forced to doe, against parents &

husbands who too much pressed theirs to go to church: & I hope it did good: to this I adjoined a short confutation of such as maintained, it was lawfull to go to ye church with protestation, upon a new occasion. There is also a definition of Clement and a reply against some wch by Card. Allens letter thought to maintaine yt it was only a venial sinne to go to ye church: finally I added ye declaration of ye Councell of Trent, wch I think confirmeth all our opinion. Besides these I caused Canisius Summa to be translated, and added some supplements of pilgrimage, invocation of Saints, & Indulgences largely. Some other little books of our Society I have translated. In written hand I confuted a pestilent dialogue between a gentleman and a physitian, made by a workman (i.e. Secular priest) with some help of his fellowes, but it was so suddenly written against, that it was crushed, and no memory now thereof, and I think no cotypes extant but my owne: yet it did much good: and ye Dialogue was full of errorrs and heresies: ye authour was sorry for it. This I write that you may know all, and you shal have ye books when I can send them." (Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea P,2. f.553).

Holtby to Persons. 9 June 1607

"I have sent you certain treatises compiled by my father (Garnet) such as I could find. One treatise he made concerning Indulgences and annexed it unto Canisius his great Catechisme, by him translated into English: the other treatise about the sword-bearer or nobleman going to Church for attendance unto the prince I could not find. If you require it, I shall send it hereafter. These I send are the Rosary of Our Lady, a Treatise of Renunciation, an Apology against the Defence of Schisme, a Treatise of Equivocation, a Confutation of the Physicians Dialogue." (Farm Street transcripts).

Blunt to Persons. 27 March 1607

"I send you also Mr. Garnett his book of Christian Renunciation, his Apology of ye treatise of schisme about going to church, a treatise of ye sodality of our B. Lady, which are all in print, his treatise of Equivocation not printed I sent you before: here is a little discourse of his about (blank in MS) his case of attending ye King." (Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea N.1. f.122).

b) The 1632 list attributes the following to Father Garnet:

- "1. In English a treatise of Christian renunciation. London, 1616.8°
2. A treatise, in English, on pilgrimages, indulgences, &c, by way of appendix to Canisius' Catechism, which he also partly translated. It was printed forty years ago in London. Afterwards at St. Omer, 1622. 8°." (Translation printed in Foley VI.521, et seq.)

II

The translation of the "Summa" or Great Catechism of St. Peter Canisius

Though Holtby says that Garnet was the translator, the 1632 List says that he "partly translated" it, and Garnet's own words are "I caused Canisius Summa to be translated, and added some supplements." Alegambe gives the date of the first edition as 1590, which may be an attempt to reduce the "forty years ago" of the 1632 List to a round figure. There are several copies of this first, undated edition in existence (see infra: III.1). S.T.C. (no.4573) gives it the conjectural date (1622?) (2) presumably for no other reason than that the St. Omers edition

is dated 1622. It belongs typographically to the press from which issued Father Garnet's other works, A Treatise of Christian Renunciation (1593 or 1594), An Apology against the Defence of Schisme (1593 or 1594), and the first edition of The Societie of the Rosary (1593-1596), and it was certainly printed at about the same time. It is very probably to this press, which the Jesuits set up secretly in or near London, that Garnet refers in his letter to Aquaviva of 16 April 1596:

"Proelum sumptibus nostris adornavimus, quod exiguo tempore regnum nostrum Catechismis aliisque piis libris replevit, eoque nuper amisso magna cum variorum librorum copia, Typographiae familiam dum novum proelum molimur, salvam omnes alimus." (Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea P,2. f.569).

An Apology against the Defence of Schisme
A Treatise of Christian Renunciation

Both these works appear to have been written as a result of the intensified persecution of Catholics which followed the parliamentary session of 19 February 1592/93 - 10 April 1593. The former was probably written before the end of 1593, as it contains a reference (p.16) to Sanders' Treatise of the Images which is here ascribed to "the yeere 64 which is almost 30 yeeres since." A definite terminus a quo for the latter is given by a passage contained in it (pp.161,62) which can be identified as part of Cardinal Allen's Letter to the Catholics in England, of 12 December 1592 (Knox; Allen. pp.343-46). It is probable however that An Apology against the Defence of Schisme was written first. In both works there are numerous references to the secular priest Thomas Bell (3) who apostatized in 1593, and it would seem from a comparison that Bell's formal apostasy took place at some time between the composition of the two; for whereas, in An Apology against the Defence of Schisme he is

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still referred to as a Catholic priest of rebellious and heretical opinion, in A Treatise of Christian Renunciation he is said to have left the Church: "... the intent of his (Allen's) letter was onely for to repress the singularity of him wch was well knowne to teach the contrary, who now by his going forth hath shewed how neare this point of doctrine in Gods iudgement is vnto flatte heresy & Atheisme." (p.168). These two works are entered anonymously in S.T.C. under Apology and Christian Renunciation respectively (nos. 711 & 5189). The conjectural dates assigned to them in S.T.C. are wrong; both works were printed soon after they were written, probably in 1593 or 1594. The 1632 List says that A Treatise of Christian Renunciation was printed at London in 1616. If this is correct, no copy of the edition appears to have survived. In Alegambe the title is corrupted, possibly by a printer's error, to Tractatus de Christiana Renouatione, which is gratuitously expanded by Dodd into A Treatise of Christian Renovation, or Birth. Dodd is copied by Gillow, D.N.B. and Sommervogel.

The Society of the Rosary

It is practically certain that this is the work referred to by Holtby as "the Rosary of our Lady" and by Blunt as "a treatise of ye Sodality of our B. Lady." It was first printed at the press which Garnet was responsible for setting up and from which issued his three known works, An Apology against the Defence of Schisme, A Treatise of Christian Renunciation, and the edition in English of Canisius' Catechism; and, in common with these works, it concludes with the prayer which seems to have been a favourite of Garnet's, "Laus Deo, ac Beatissimae semper Virgini Matri Deiparae Mariae atque omnibus Sanctis." There is also strong circumstantial evidence associating him with

the subject matter. From a letter which he wrote to the Jesuit General towards the end of 1592 it appears that, before he had set out on the mission to England, he had been granted special faculties for organizing a branch of the Sodality - or Society - of the Rosary among English Catholics: "Societas Rosarii multum promovet nostrorum hominum pietatem. Accepimus a quodam potestatem in illam admittendi homines atqui illo iam defuncto putamus nostram expirasse facultatem, quippe qui illius duntaxat subdelegati fuerimus. Itaque serio illam nobis petimus concedi non mediocri adiumento futuram." (Farm Street transcripts).

On 9 January 1593 the General replied, confirming Garnet's faculties: "Idem Domini (sic for 'Dominus', i.e. Allen) consulto Magistro respondit, quod ab illius ore acceperat, in Sod. Ros. de qua D. V. quaesierat, nihil opus esse vel indultu vel reliquis solemnibus, esse item perpetuas facultates, quae ab ipso datae fuerant, quod vobis iam ore signatum puto." (Farm Street transcripts).

The little book entitled The Society of the Rosary is an adaptation for English Catholics in penal times of the rules and statutes of the sodality. Of the spiritual privileges accorded to members the author writes:

"All which so great commodities shall more plainly appeare in the summary following of the Ordinances or statutes and graces of this Society. Which hath bene faithfully drawn forth of an Italian booke of the Rosary sette forth at Rome about 8 or 9 yeeres sithence by the Reuerend generall of S. Domrnicks (sic) order vnto whome especialle the admission into this Society doth belong." (1st ed. p.14).

The Italian book here referred to is the Capitoli Statuti, et Ordinationi della Venerabile Compagnia del Santissimo Rosario ... fatti, & nouamente reuisti dal Reuerendissimo padre Generale

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dell'ordine de Predicatori, issued under the seal and authority of Fabri da Lucca, the Master-General of the Dominicans, on 1 October 1585, and printed in Rome "ad istanza della Compagnia del SS. Rosario" in the same year. It would seem therefore that The Society of the Rosary was first published within a year or two of Garnet's receiving the General's letter reassuring him on the question of faculties. The S.T.C. entries for the early editions are hopelessly confused; for corrections, see infra: III. 4, 4a, 4b.

A Treatise of Equivocation

We have Blunt's testimony that it was not in print by 27 March 1607. On the other hand, Isaac Casaubon, writing in 1611, describes it as "hoc titulo publicatus, ac typis expressus aequiuocationis tractatus." (Isaaci Casauboni ad Frontonem Ducaem S. I. Theologum Epistola. London, 1611. p.109). If it was printed no copy appears to have survived. Two manuscript copies are known to exist, one at the English College, Rome, and one at the Bodleian. That at the English College is evidently the copy which Holtby or Blunt sent to Persons in 1607 and which the latter used in his controversy with Morton: "And now at this very instant ... cometh to my handes the Catholicke Treatise it selfe of Equiuocation before mencyoned against which Morton frameth his answers ... of which Treatise not hauing byn able to procure the sight vntil this tyme I fynd so much occasion of new matter ... as I might dilate myself to the making of a newe treatise." (A Treatise tending to Mitigation towards Catholicke Subjectes in England. n.p. 1607. p.553).

The front fly-leaf bears the words in Garnet's hand, (4) "A Treatisee against Lyinge & Fraudulent dissimulation Newly ouerseen by ye Author & published for the defence of Innocency, & for ye Instruction of ye Ignorant", and the end fly-leaf is endorsed by Persons, "Fr Garnets discourse of Equivocation." The Bodleian

copy (Laud. Misc. 655) is the copy that was used at Garnet's trial and it contains corrections in his hand. David Jardine who edited the Bodleian manuscript in 1851 (A Treatise of Equivocation, London, 1851) was of the opinion that Garnet was responsible only for the corrections and that the text itself was the work of another; but all the evidence is against him. In addition to the evidence of Holtby, Blunt and Persons, we have Garnet's own word for it that he was the author. In a letter to an unidentified correspondent, dated 18 November 1600, he writes: "Dopo la morte del P. Sotoello, Harrigo (5) scrisse un trattato lungo dell'equivocatione, provandola essere lecita con le autorità della Santa Scrittura e de SS. Padri; quale manoscritto fu veduto da molti, e diede grande sodisfattione anco a Catolici, che se maravigliarono prima della dottrina del P. Sotoello." (Farm Street transcripts).

And in a letter to Persons (?) of 22 April 1598, he writes: "I wrott a treatise of Equivocation to defend father Southwells assertion, which was much wondered at by Catholicks and hereticks." (Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea P,2. f.552).

A confutation of the Physician's Dialogue
A Treatise about the Sword-Bearer, etc.

It is practically certain that neither of these was printed. Of the former Garnet said (supra) that he believed his copy of the manuscript to be the only one extant; and it was presumably this copy that Holtby sent to Persons in 1607. It is recorded in the 1685 catalogue of the manuscripts at the English College, Rome, as "P. Garnetti tractatus contra dialogum medici." The latter, which is also described by Blunt (supra) as "a little discourse of his about --- his case of attending ye king", may possibly be the work listed in the 1685 catalogue of the English College as "Casus de adeundis haereticorum templis in Anglia." Owing to the upheaval

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caused by the war it is not possible at present to discover whether these manuscripts are still at the English College.

"Some other little books of our Society I have translated."

We are here in the realm of speculation. It is quite likely that Garnet had a hand in translating and editing the selections from Vincenzo Bruno, Luca Pinelli and other Jesuit writers, which were printed secretly in England in the last five years of the 16th century; but unfortunately there is no external evidence to corroborate it. Only one of these translations calls for special mention. Pinelli's Breife Meditations of the Most Holy Sacrament (see infra: III. 5) was printed, between 1597 and c. 1600 at the same press as the second edition of The Society of the Rosary. The translation itself is followed by a selection of hymns and prayers including some previously unpublished prayers of Fr. Robert Southwell. Southwell had been closely associated with Garnet on the Mission, and it is tempting to regard the publication of these prayers as Garnet's tribute to his martyred friend. The temptation is made all the stronger by the fact that the work concludes with a slight variation of the prayer which appears at the end of nearly all Garnet's works: "Laus Deo Opt. Max. Bea. Virg. Mariae omnibusq. Sanctis."

III

A catalogue of the early editions of the works that were printed, showing where copies may now be found. (6).

- 1) A summe of christian doctrine: composed in Latin, by the R. father P. Canisius, of the Society of Iesus. With an appendix of the fall of man & iustification, according to the doctrine of the Council of Trent. Newly translated into

Englishe. To which is adioined the explication of certaine questions not handled at large in the booke as shall appeare in the table. n.p.d. (1592-1596).

S.T.C. 4573. A translation of the Summa doctrinae Christianae of St. Peter Canisius, with three supplements added by Garnet, "Of Hallowed and Sanctified Creatures vsed in the Church", "Of Pilgrimage vnto Holy Places", "Of Indulgences, or Pardons." A fourth supplement, "Of Seruice and Praier in the Vulgar Tongue", listed in the table of contents, is wanting. Printed at a secret press set up by the Jesuits in or near London.

Copies at:- British Museum; Lambeth Palace; Brompton Oratory; Stonyhurst; Union Theological Seminary, New York; Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington.

- 1a) (Another edition.) A summe of christian doctrine: composed in Latin by the R. father Petrus Canisius, of the Society of Iesus. With an appendix of the fall of man and iustificacion, according to the doctrine of the Councell of Trent: translated into English. To which is adioyned the explication of certaine questions. S. Omers, for Iohn Heigham, 1622.

S.T.C. 4572. Printed for John Heigham by Charles Boscard. Copies at:- Lambeth Palace; Bodleian; Emmanuel College Cambridge; Farm St.; Ampleforth; Ushaw; Stonyhurst.

- 1b) (A reissue of the preceding, with a cancel title.) A summary of controuersies. Wherein the chieftest points of the Catholike Roman fayth, are compendiously and methodically explicated, by way of catechisme, against the sectaries of this age. By P. C. of the Society of Iesus. The III edition. n.p. 1639.

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Not in S.T.C.

Copy at:- British Museum.

- 2) An apology against the defence of schisme. Lately written by an English diuine at Doway, for answere to a letter of a lapsed Catholicke in England his frend: who hauing in the late comission gone to the church, defended his fall, wherin is plainly declared, and manifestlye proued, the generall doctrine of the diuines, & of the church of Christ, which hitherto hath bene taught and followed in England, concerning this pointe. n.p.d. (1593 or 1594).

S.T.C. 711. Printed at the same press as no.1.

Copies at:- Lambeth Palace; Sion College; Bodleian; Cambridge University; Fort Augustus; Peterborough Cathedral; York Minster.

- 3) A treatise of christian renunciation. Compiled of excellent sentences & as it were diuerse homelies of ancient fathers: wherin is shewed how farre it is lawfull or necessary for the loue of Christ to forsake father, mother, wife and children, and all other worldly creatures. Against the enemies of the crosse of Christ, who by temporall respects of obedience or other earthlye bonds, withdraw themselues or others fro the confession of their faith and religion. Wherunto is added a shorte discourse against going to hereticall churches with a protestation. n.p.d. (1593 or 1594).

S.T.C. 5189 & 24264. All copies contain "The declaration of the fathers of the Councell of Trent, concerning the going vnto churches, at such time as hereticall seruice is saied", which does not appear to have been published separately. Printed at the same press as nos. 1 and 2.

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Copies at:- Sion College; Cambridge University; Peterborough Cathedral; Ushaw; St. Edmunds Ware; English College Rome.

- 4) The societie of the rosary. Wherin is conteined the begining, increase, & profit of the same. Also the orders & manifold graces annexed vnto it, with diuers other things therunto appertaining. A thing, which as it was at the first instituted by the holy light of Gods church S. Dominick as a present remedy against the Albigenes certaine heretikes of his age: so vndoubtedly will be a necessary remedy for all christians to embrace in this miserable time. n.p.d. (1593-1596).

S.T.C. 21319. Printed at the same press as nos. 1, 2 and 3. Copies at:- British Museum; Farm St.; Downside. The copy attributed to the Bodleian at S.T.C. 21319 belongs in reality to the second edition.

- 4a) (Another edition.) The societie of the rosary. Newly augmented. n.p.d. (1596-1600).

S.T.C. 19939a. All copies contain "An epistle consolatory: of an auncient pope. To the Catholicks of Albania", which does not appear to have been published separately. Printed secretly in England, at a different press from nos. 1, 2 and 3.

Copies at:- British Museum; Bodleian; Ampleforth; St. Edmund's Ware; Huntington Library, California.

- 4b) (Another edition.) The societie of the rosarie, newly augmented. Together with the life of the glorious virgin Marie. Written in Italian, by the reuerend father Lucas

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Pinelli of the Society of Jesus. S. Omers, for John Heigham, 1624.

S.T.C. 19939. S.T.C. has been misled by the ambiguous wording of the titlepage of this edition into attributing The Society of the Rosary to Pinelli. Printed for John Heigham by Charles Boscard.
Copies at:- Dr. Williams' Library; Ushaw.

- 5) Breife meditations of the most holy Sacrament and of preparation, for receuing the same. And of some other thinges appertaining to the greatnes and deuotion of so worthy a misterie. Composed in Italian by the Reu. father Luca Pinelli of the Societie of Iesus. n.p.d. (1597-1600).

S.T.C. 19937. Translated from Libretto di brevi meditazioni del santissimo sacramento, of which the earliest edition recorded in Sommervogel was printed in 1597. With St. Thomas's hymns and sequence for Corpus Christi and a translation of the Lauda Sion by Robert Southwell, "Remembrances" of St. Teresa (7) and ejaculatory prayers of Robert Southwell. The whole edited by Henry Garnet? Printed secretly in England at the same press as no. 4a. Copies at:- British Museum; Lambeth Palace; Gillow Library (Catholic Record Society); Farm Street; Folger Library.

NOTES

- 1) Transcripts of many of these documents are kept at the Jesuit House at Farm Street. I am deeply indebted to Fr. Leo Hicks S.J. for allowing me to consult them. The

reference "Farm Street transcripts" following some of the extracts quoted in this paper indicates that I am not permitted to give the location of the original document.

- 2) In this paper, round brackets are made to fulfil the normal bibliographical function of square brackets.
- 3) Garnet avoids mentioning his name, but the reader is left in no doubt as to his identity.
- 4) Teste J. H. Pollen S.J., whose notes on the archives of the English College, Rome, are at Farm Street.
- 5) Garnet frequently thus refers to himself in the third person.
- 6) The lists of extant copies are not intended to be exhaustive.
- 7) A translation of St. Teresa's Avisos ("Maxims") which antedates that of Abraham Woodhead (1676) by about eighty years. This is, I believe, the earliest English translation of any of St. Teresa's writings. The first English translation of her Vida was printed in 1611.

JOHN ABBOT

(1588 - ? 1650)

D. M. Rogers

JOHN ABBOT, who abroad used the alias of Ashton (C.R.S. XXX, 105) and in England called himself John, or Augustine, Rivers, was born of a London family in 1588. Our chief authority for his early life is entry 289 in the Registers of the English College at Valladolid (C.R.S. XXX). From this we learn that he was aged 21 in 1609, a Londoner born of respectable but non-Catholic parents. A passage taken by Foley (VII, 1152) from the Annual Letter of the English Jesuit College of St. Omer for 1609 adds to our knowledge of his family: "The fathers ... received many Protestants into the Church; among whom was an Oxford student of great talent belonging to the Abbot family (a family most hostile to the Catholic faith, two members having been its bitterest foes, viz. a bishop and a dean)". This can only refer to George Abbot (1562-1633) who at the time of writing was Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, in 1610 was made Bishop of London, and in 1611 became Archbishop of Canterbury (D.N.B. I, 5), and to his brother Robert Abbot (1560-1617) who in 1609, though not apparently a dean, was chaplain in ordinary to King James and in that year was made Master of Balliol College, and later became Bishop of Salisbury (D.N.B. I, 24). Both brothers published noted anti-Catholic controversial works, and George as bishop was an active persecutor of Catholics. Since the brothers were of a Guildford family, their relationship to John Abbot may not have been close, but it is perhaps significant that all three went to Balliol.

The Valladolid Register informs us that he studied his humanities in London before going to Oxford, where he studied logic and philosophy for five years and was made B.A. He can therefore be identified with the John Abbot, of London, gent., who matriculated at Balliol College on 16 November 1604 aged 16, and was made B.A. on 20 April 1608. (Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, I, 1.) Both Foster (loc. cit.) and Venn (Alumni Cantabrigienses, I, 1) follow Thompson Cooper, writer of the D.N.B. article (D.N.B. I, 21) into the error of identifying the Catholic John Abbot with another of that name, an M.A. from Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, who was incorporated at Oxford in 1612 and became B.D. in 1617, at which time the Catholic John Abbot had been a priest for five years. After graduating B.A. and before proceeding further, Abbot travelled abroad, 'animi causâ' adds the Register. On his way home, he visited the English Jesuits at St. Omer, where after several days of controversial discussions he was converted and received into the Church by Father John Floyd, S.J. The Annual Letter already referred to contains, according to Foley who does not quote, a long account of the desperate trials and temptations he subsequently endured from the devil, from which he was miraculously delivered by Our Lady, becoming thereafter perfectly calm and cheerful. At Father Floyd's suggestion he accompanied a party of students to Spain, and was admitted to St. Alban's College, Valladolid on 16 November 1609. (Valladolid Register loc. cit.; Foley VII, 1152).

In 1612 he was sent to the English College at Doway, where his arrival from Valladolid is recorded in the Third Doway Diary. He and a companion from Spain entered the College on 6 June 'in order to complete their studies'. The Diary describes him on arrival as a deacon, but wrongly calls him 'of Leicester' instead of 'of London', and this error is

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repeated in the record of his ordination as priest in the Church of Our Lady at Doway on 14 June, 1612. He celebrated his first Mass on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul following, 29 June, and just over a month later the Diary records his departure on 3 August, 1612, to join the Society of Jesus at Louvain. (C.R.S. X, 114; XXX, 105).

Foley (VII, 1) states that he was sent by his superiors to the English mission in 1615, but that after the year 1621, when he was a missionary in London, his name no longer appears in the catalogues of the religious of the Society. That he did leave the Jesuits is certain, for Challoner (M.M.P.^e 401) points out that Father Angelus Mason, a contemporary witness, describes Abbot at his trial in 1641 as a secular priest. The testimony of Fr. Mason, himself a Franciscan, coupled with the absence of Abbot's name from the necrology of the English Franciscan province, makes it also certain that he did not join the English Franciscans, though Newton the pursuivant described him in 1637 as "Augustin Rivers als. Abbott, Fran. fryer" (see below) and his devotion to St. Francis can be gauged from the eulogy of the Saint in "Jesus Praefigured" where he devotes no less than eighty-six lines to St. Francis and only ten to St. Ignatius and eight to St. Benedict.

Beyond Foley's record, already quoted, that Abbot was a missionary in London in 1621, evidence is for many years very scanty. It is unlikely that he was the John Rivers who was arrested in the house of Sir John Beaumont, the Catholic poet, by the pursuivant Humphrey Crosse, unless the witness who quotes the incident is mistaken in the dates he gives. The incident is referred to many years after it happened, in the papers prepared in 1636 for a process against Crosse and other pursuivants for various abuses they had committed.. The evidence (Cal. S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. CCCXVII no. 36) includes a statement by Alexander

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Pelham, dated 26 January 1634/5, that the arrest took place "Some 25 or 26 years since", i.e. in 1609-10, while Abbot was still a Protestant, or just after his conversion while he was a student in Spain. If Pelham's memory were at fault by some years we could make an attractive identification bringing Abbot into the household of a fellow Catholic poet. There are links between both men through three other Catholic poets. George Fortescue, who was Beaumont's brother-in-law, wrote commendatory verses both for the posthumous edition of Beaumont's poems (Bosworth Field, with... other poems, 1629 and for Abbot's Devout Rhapsodies (see bibliography). Walter Coleman, the Franciscan, who appended verses dedicated to Beaumont to his La Danse Machabre, or Death's Duell, was one of the six other priests tried and condemned with Abbot in 1641 and was Abbot's fellow confessor in Newgate until his own death there in 1645. Finally, James Shirley knew Coleman, for whom he wrote a poem prefixed to Death's Duell, and Shirley and Abbot are in some way connected, as is discussed later, over the tragedy The Traitor, 1692.

We cannot be certain that Abbot was actually himself in Antwerp for the publication of his first book Jesus Praefigured in 1623 (see bibliography). This book bears a date but no imprint; it is certainly foreign printed and the fine title page could well be Antwerp workmanship, which is suggested by the second dedication. The first dedication is in verse to Charles, Prince of Wales, and the second in prose (in Spanish as befits one who had studied in Spain) to the Infanta Maria of Austria, addressing her, erroneously as the event proved, as Princess of Wales, and dated 'deste Convento de S. Juan Baptista de Anverse à 12. de Novembre 1623'. No such convent seems to be recorded in Sander's Chorographia sacra Brabantiae (Brussels, 1659). But if Abbot was using a fictitious address to conceal his real whereabouts in England, he was consistent enough to

introduce among his many topical references, an allusion to "Antwerpe's Apostle", St. Norbert (p. 82) and in a marginal note (p. 81) he refers to "a worthy personage in these parts, who though a stranger to our Countrie" yet had a great devotion to the martyr Margaret Clitherow, which suggests the author was writing while abroad. Only the first two books, out of the five announced on the title-page, were issued, and a sufficient explanation is the ending of Charles' negotiations for marriage with the Infanta. The poem breathes the high hopes of the English Catholics for the relief that was expected to follow the marriage of the heir to the throne to a Catholic princess and the accompanying Spanish alliance which would counterbalance the friendship with Calvinist Holland. The date of the dedication shows, as Cooper pointed out (loc. cit.), that although negotiations for the Spanish match had been broken off just over two months previously, the news cannot have reached the author before his dedication was penned and put into print.

Abbot may have been working in London in 1624, for John Gee mentions two Father Rivers whom he styles "both Jesuits" in his popular revelations which went through four editions in that year under the title of "The Foot out of the Snare". (4th ed. sig. T 3 recto). But Gee's List of "Priests and Jesuits resident about the City of London", like the rest of his material, abounds in errors and confusions. He does not mention Abbot under any other name known to us. In 1632 a list was compiled by a Catholic giving the priests then in London prisons, and as Abbot does not figure in it he was presumably still at liberty. (Foley I, 279). But it is certain that he was in and out of prison more than once. In 1635 we find him lodged in the Gatehouse, one of thirty-two priests for whose capture the pursuivant John Gray claimed the credit (Cal. S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. CCCVIII, 66 and 66 (1); printed by Foley I, 517). Gray

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complains to the Privy Council that "they have liberty and are all abroad out of prison ... and doe lye lurking in diverse places within the citties of London and West (minste)r and the subbarbs thereabouts, perverting his Ma(jes)ties liege subjects." It appears from the next document in the same State Paper volume that Abbot was released upon bond of John Compton and Thomas Stokes (loc. cit. no. 67; Foley I, 518); and a list printed by W. Pryne (Hidden Works of Darkness, 1645, p. 124) shows that this release took place on 13 April 1635 on the orders of Windebanke, the Secretary of State, the sureties being to the amount of £300 for his appearance upon thirty days warning. But in 1637 Francis Newton, another pursuivant, included "Augustin Rivers, als. Abbot, Fran. fryer" in a list of twenty-nine priests arrested by him. (Cal. S.P. Dom. Chas. I, vol. CCCLXXVI, 34, 34(1); Foley I, 518-9). We hear of no further release, so probably this time he remained a prisoner until his trial four years later.

At length in 1641 John Abbot was examined on 30 July at Westminster, as we learn from a contemporary relation preserved in Brussels and printed by Foley (V, 217-220), and arraigned at the Sessions at Newgate on 7 December following, before the Recorder of London. Abbot, who was the first of the eight priests on trial, says of himself that "he was altogether unacquainted with the method and proceedings of a sessions", which shows that despite his earlier imprisonments he had not previously been brought to trial. The trial of Abbot and his fellow priests aroused general interest, being a move in the political struggle between the puritan party in Parliament and the King and his ministers, who were accused of promoting popery by their leniency towards priests and recusants. It was the subject of two contemporary pamphlets, to be found in the Thomason Collection in the British Museum (A Copy of the Prisoners' judgement. Printed by Thomas Payne

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in Goldsmiths Alley in Red-cross Street, 1641. Seven Jesuites condemned, shewing every particular of their examination and confession.). After conviction (under the statute of 27 Eliz.) ~~and before~~ sentence was pronounced on 8 December (the MS. relation wrongly gives this date as 10 December), Abbot spoke in his own defence. He offered to bring as witnesses "a knight and a sufficient gentleman, who on the oaths would testify that Mayor (i.e. Thomas Mayo, the pursuivant) affirmed that they were hired by the Parliament" for £300 to bear witness against the priests, but the Recorder protested "I will not suffer this: it is an injury against the Parliament." All attempts by Abbot, backed by his fellow-defendants and other friends, to prove the fraud and malice of the professional informers on whose evidence they stood condemned, met with similar rebuffs. Abbot's final plea, that he was unable to obey the King's latest proclamation to depart the realm, being at the time a prisoner, and so expressly exempt, states that he was already in prison by the previous 7 April.

Seven of the priests were condemned to die as traitors, and one was acquitted, according to Nalson (Impartial Collection, II, p.731). The King, however, at the instance of the French Ambassador, ordered a reprieve, which Parliament petitioned him to revoke. Challoner describes (M.M.P., 400-401) the struggle that ensued over the fate of the seven, shortly reduced to six by the death in prison of one of them, Parliament wishing to lay on the King the odium of ordering their execution, and Charles evading this by signifying his willingness to do as they should decide. The deadlock was not resolved, but the priests were retained in prison, where they still were at the times of their deaths as far as these have been recorded. The fact of John Abbot's death in Newgate is recorded, but not its date, in a manuscript printed by Lingard in his History (1849)

vol. VIII, 645, from the original in his possession (cf. Morris, Troubles I, 337). This is a list of their victims drawn up by four pursuivants who had formed themselves into a company to pool the profits of their trade in forfeited Catholic lives and goods. In this list appears the entry "August Abbot als. Rivers, condemned, reprieved by the King, and died in Newgate." The pursuivants' company report is undated, but it can be fixed as written shortly after the martyrdom of the Blessed Peter Wright S.J., which took place on 19 May 1651, the list being mainly chronological and Wright's name the last but one in it. From item 3 of the following bibliography it seems probable that Abbot was still alive in 1649. We may therefore place his death as a confessor in Newgate in about the year 1650, when he would be aged sixty-two.

John Abbot wrote:

1. Iesus Praefigured: or a poëme of the Holy Name of Iesus in five bookes. The first, and second booke. Permissu Superiorum. 1623. 4^o. no place or printer (? Antwerp). pp (X) + 110 + (II).

The first dedication is signed Iohn Abbot.

Francois Peck suggested (in his New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Milton, 1740, p. 180-181) that Milton had the opening of this poem, with its reference to St. John the Evangelist, in mind when he wrote the opening lines of the fourth book of Paradise Lost. Peck remarks that the book was a poetical rarity in his day. There are copies in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and in the Library of Lord Clifford of Ugbrooke. This book has already been discussed. S.T.C. 42. C.B.E.L. I, 473.

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2. Devout Rhapsodies: in which is Treated, of the Excellencie of Divine Scriptures. Also of God... Angels... Man... By J: A: Rivers, London, printed by Thomas Harper for Daniel Frere, and are to be sold at his Shop, at the Red Bull in Little Brittain (1647)4^o. pp. (VIII) + 80.

Issued late in 1647, since Thomason's copy in the British Museum is dated 11 November 1647 (Catalogue of the Pamphlets... collected by George Thomason (1908) I, 569). There are copies of this in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and the Huntington Library, California. The Bodleian also has another issue with the date 1648 on the title, otherwise the same. But the W.H. Crawford (Lakelands) - Harmsworth copy, which was sold in London by Messrs. Sotheby on 20 March 1950, and had the date 1648; contained a second part with a further 48 pages. The first part is divided into nine "sermons", and has a preface in which Abbot says "Being for many years detained in a miserable and chargable Prison, to divert my mind from too serious thoughts of publick and private calamities, made me undertake this imployment." There are verses prefixed by George Fortescue (as already noted), James Yate (to whom one of the "sermons" is dedicated), George Cox, John Chapperline and H.W. Each of the "sermons" is dedicated to two or more patrons, sometimes of the same family. Among these friends and patrons we find "William Savile, Baronet, my Godson", the poet William Habington, his wife and his father-in-law, Lord Powis, and a number of noblemen and gentlemen who, as Catholics or Royalists or both, were prisoners in London at the same time as Abbot. Such were Henry Parker (Lord Morley and Monteagle) John Paulet (Marquis of Winchester) Walter Montagu and Thomas, Lord Brudenel (later Earl of Cardigan). The list of patrons is interesting, and seems to show a special intimacy with

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the Paulets. The second part of the book is described by Mr. Raphael King, the London bookseller who bought the Crawford-Harmsworth copy, as containing "a remarkable anticipation of Paradise Lost" (cf. the preceding note on Jesus Praefigured) and he says "In the last few pages of the second part Rivers works off some of his spleen on the government and produces some racy verse with vivid contemporary allusions" (Catalogue no. 51, 1950).

Wing A67. Not mentioned in C.B.E.L.

The following have been attributed to Abbot:-

3. Ka Mee and I'le Ka Thee, or, a dialogue; Wherein is showne the Indecency, and unreasonablenesse of persecuting, and afflicting tender Consciences, for differences in matters of Religion. Especially in England, where no one Religion is long in Fashion. ... Printed in the Yeare 1649. 4^o. (no place or printer) ff. 18.

There is a copy of this tract in the library of Downside Abbey, which is inscribed in a seventeenth century hand "This booke was penned by one Rivers, supposed to be a preist (sic) or Jesuite, & therefore lay in Newgate at the time of ye writing of it." Dom Raymund Webster has kindly furnished details of it; it is in the form of a dialogue between Major Elder and Captaine Freeman. It begins as anti-sectary and ends as plain pleading for toleration for Catholics and recitation of the sufferings of captured priests, "heads on poles ... hourelly preach to the City, Suburbs, and Countrie now that function, and those men, for whom, and the exercise of which all our Churches were built, Universities erected, and Colleges founded, is judged by the Lawes of our Realme Treason, and they as Traiteurs executed" (p.31).

4. The Traytor. A tragedy: with alterations, amendments, and additions. As it is now acted at the Theatre Royal, by their Majesties Servants. Written by Mr. Rivers. London, Printed for Richard Parker at the Royal Exchange, and Sam. Briscoe in Covent Garden, over against Wills Coffee-House. MDCXCII 4^o. pp (IV) + 50.

Shirley's well-know tragedy, licensed 4 May 1631, and first published in 1635, is first attributed to "Rivers" in this edition. In place of the dedication by Shirley to his patron William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, is an unsigned dedication to the Earl of Clancarty, which says "I will not slander it with my Praise, it is Commendation enough, to say the Author was Mr. Rivers." At the same time, the Gentleman's Journal London, April 1692, p.21 contains this notice "The Traytor, an old Tragedy, hath not only been revived the last Month, but also been reprinted with Alterations and Amendments: It was supposed to be Shirly's, but he only usher'd it in to the Stage; The Author of it was one Mr. Rivers, a Jesuite, who wrote it in his Confinement in Newgate, where he died." (Quoted in A.H. Nason, James Shirley, Dramatist (New York, 1915) p. 432).

Whatever is behind this ascription, and the reason for it has not apparently been explained, three points call for notice. First, the details quoted show that the candidate for the attribution must be John Abbot alias Rivers and not "Anthony Rivers", the latter being the pseudonym used by the Jesuit who was "socius" to Father Henry Garnet till that priest's martyrdom in 1606. The notice of "Anthony Rivers" in D.N.B. XLVIII, 333 and Gillow V, 428-9, should therefore be referred in part to Abbot. Secondly, if Shirley himself was a Catholic, the ascription cannot easily be explained as "a dishonest attempt

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to claim the play for a Roman Catholic" as Dyce and Fleay hold (D.N.B. loc. cit.), especially since the writer in the Gentleman's Journal was Peter Motteux who was a Huguenot and no Catholic. Thirdly, if Abbot had any part in The Traitor, it must have been before his imprisonment in Newgate, which began in 1637 six years after the play was licensed, unless he suffered an earlier imprisonment there which we have not yet traced.

CORRECTIONS TO KIRK'S ARTICLES ON THE LECKONBYS AND
WHITES IN HIS BIOGRAPHIES OF ENGLISH CATHOLICS

W. Vincent Smith

Every student of Catholic history in the 18th century owes a debt to the Reverend John Kirk, D.D. His Biographies of English Catholics is a mine of information and, though it undoubtedly has to be used with care and criticism, it frequently points the way to further information. One of Kirk's more serious errors is his confusion of the Leckonbys and Whites. The relevant extracts are:-

LECKONBY, JOHN, vere WHITE, son of John White and Alice Southern, born May 18, 1710. After studying the classics three years at Lancaster, he was admitted into the College at Rome, Oct. 5, 1727. He was ordained Priest on March 21, 1733, and left the College, Sept. 23, 1734, but remained after half a year at Douay to finish his course of Divinity, or at least to prepare himself the better for the Mission. He lived at Brailes, with only £33 per an., and died in Feb., 1778. (Kirk. 149).

LECKONBY, LUCAS, vere WHITE, elder brother of John, born Oct. 17, 1708, (O.S.). He was received into the College At Rome, June 20, 1724. He was ordained Sept. 9, 1731, and left for England on the 14th of the same month and year. Hence it appears that he was not quite 23 when ordained, and in less than a week afterwards was sent on the Mission! I do not find his name in any Clergy Catalogue. (Kirk. 149).

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LECKONBY, THOMAS, S.J. born Oct. 15, 1717. Entered his noviceship, Sept. 7, 1736, and was made a professed Father in 1754. After remaining a few months (four months, thirteen days) at Swinnerton, in the Fitzherbert family, he removed to Callaly, near Alnwick, in 1748. A Mr. Leckonby was placed at Pontop in 1748, and lived there till Feb. 1778 when he died. He seems to have been a member of the Secular Clergy. (Kirk. 149, 50).

LEEMBY, MR., lived at Croston, and at Pontop, or Tanfield. Rev. Edward Kenyon supposes White and Leemby to be the same person. Mr. Peter Browne says, 'Mr. John White lived many years in Lancashire, and died at Euxton Hall, Feb. 7, 1778.' He and Mr. Eyre disagreed. (Kirk. 150).

WHITE, JOHN, alias LECKENBY, son of John White and Alice Southard, or Southworth, was born in Lancashire, May 18, 1710 (O.S.), and studied his classics there three years. In 1727 he was received in the English College at Rome. He received minor orders from Benedict XIII. in 1729, and was ordained Priest March 21, 1733, and left the College September 23, 1734. In 1748 he went to Pontop, 'where he lived', says Mr. Thomas Eyre, 'till February 7, 1778, when he died.'

(Mr. Leckenby lived at Croston and Pontop or Tanfield. Rev. Edward Kenyon supposes White and Leckenby to be the same person. Mr. Peter Browne says: 'Mr. John White lived many years in Lancashire, and died at Euxton Hall, Feb. 7, 1778.' He and Mr. Eyre disagree.) (Kirk. 248).

WHITE, LUCAS, elder brother of John, was born October 17, 1708 (O.S.). Entered the College at Rome June 27, 1724, was

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ordained September 9 1731, and left for the Mission on the 14th - five days after he was ordained. He lived many years in Lancashire, at Euxton or Alkston, or at both places, and died in July, 1765. Dr. Gradwell says 'He was an able Missioner, and had the reputation of great skill in physic.' (Kirk. 248).

All these entries refer to three priests, John White and his elder brother Luke, both seculars, and Thomas Leckonby, S.J. who was probably a near relative of theirs. Their biographical details are as follows:-

John White, alias Leckonby, was the son of John White and Alice Southern or Southworth, and was born on 18 May 1710. After being at school in Lancashire he went to the English College, Rome, arriving there on 5 October 1727. He was ordained priest on 21 March 1733, and he left Rome on 23 September of the following year. (1). He does not appear to have gone straight to England, for he is mentioned in the Douai College diary as having arrived at that college on 10 (sic) September 1734, and as having remained there till he left for the English Mission on 14 June 1735. (2). His first four or five years in England were apparently spent at Brailes, (3), but at some time before 1741 he was stationed at Euxton in Lancashire, where he died in 1778. (4).

Luke White, alias Leckonby, born 17 October 1708, was the elder brother of John. He was sent to the English College, Rome, where he arrived on 20 June 1724, and he was ordained priest there on 9 September 1731, leaving for the English Mission five days later. (5). He was first stationed at Stella, co. Durham. (6). He was there from 1732 until about 1737, when he went to Aldborough in Yorkshire, where he remained for nearly

CORRECTIONS TO KIRK'S ARTICLES ON THE LECKONBYS AND WHITES

three years. (7). In 1740 he was at Stockton, and while he was there he also supplied from time to time at Oughton, Darlington and Leyburn. (8). In 1754 he went to Alstone Lane in Lancashire, where he died in July 1765. (9).

Thomas Leckonby S.J., was born in Lancashire on 15 October 1717. He entered the Society of Jesus on 7 September 1736 and was professed of the four vows on 2 February 1754. (Foley. VII.445). After spending a few months at Swinnerton, (10), he may possibly have supplied for a short time at Callaly Castle in Northumberland. (11). Before May 1749 he was stationed at Pontop in co. Durham, and there he remained till he died on 14 February 1778. He was buried in Lanchester Churchyard four days later. 'Mr. Thomas Leckonby, Popish priest of Pontop buried', is the record in the Register. While he was at Pontop, he probably assisted at Tanfield, a few miles away, which was also a mass centre at this time. (12).

NOTES

- (1) Liber Ruber of the English College, Rome. (C.R.S. XL.179; Foley. VI.478).
- (2) Seventh Douai Diary. (C.R.S. XXVIII.198,202. The footnote on the former page is incorrect).
- (3) Kirk is the only authority traced. The Rev. W. Connick, of the Presbytery, Brailes, has kindly looked through the surviving records of the Mission, but without success.

CORRECTIONS TO KIRK'S ARTICLES ON THE LECKONBYS AND WHITES

- (4) Bishop Dicconson's List of Priests in the Northern District shows that he was here both when the list was started, c.1740, and when it was ended, c.1753. The copy used here is in the Ushaw College library. F. O. Blundell O.S.B., in Old Catholic Lancashire (III.178) agrees with the dates 1740-78 for his tenure of the chaplaincy at Euxton, but he calls him James White.
- (5) Liber Ruber of the English College, Rome. (C.R.S. XL.173; Foley. VI.475).
- (6) All the references in this and the following notes call him Witson. Eyre Papers at Ushaw College; these papers are so far unindexed, but the references will be found in Eyre Papers Transcripts, pp.43,51. Archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle Transcripts, pt.I, p.336.
- (7) Eyre Papers Transcripts, p.137.
- (8) Eyre Papers Transcripts, pp. 23, 43, 51, 129, 130, 137. Archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle Transcripts, pt.I.p.406, pt.II.pp.3, 13, 14, 29, 37, 38. Ushaw Collection MSS. Vol.II. f.71.
- (9) Eyre Papers Transcripts, p.25. Archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle Transcripts, pt.I, p.37.
- (10) Kirk is the sole authority.
- (11) His stay at Callaly is not mentioned in Bishop Dicconson's List. It is quite possible that he supplied there for a few months when the Rev. John Danell S.J., the regular chaplain, was away with the family.

- (12) According to the Jesuit Archives at Farm St., he was at Pontop before May 1749. His position in Bishop Dicconson's List shows that he cannot have arrived there before 1749. There are frequent references to him at Pontop in the account books of the Durham District of the Jesuits (preserved at Farm St.); also in the Eyre Papers at Ushaw and the Archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle.
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WAS DR. EDWARD HAWARDEN A MISSIONER IN DURHAM?

W. Vincent Smith

John Kirk, in his Biographies of English Catholics, states:

"It has been said that Dr. Hawarden left Douay in 1707. He then came on the Mission, and was placed at Aldcliffe, near Lancaster, where the Daltons then resided . . . Such, however, was the high opinion that Dr. Smith, Bishop of the North District, had of him, that, wishing to have him nearer to his own person, he placed him at Gilligate in Durham, and when he made his will in 1709 appointed him one of his trustees, and left him £10 for life on condition of his continuing to reside in the North. Soon after his arrival in England he was chosen a member of the Chapter, and in 1710 an Archdeacon, and also the Catholic Controversy Writer. On this latter account it probably was found necessary that he should reside in London in order to have an eye to the works written against us, and that he might have the convenience of books necessary to answer them. He therefore quitted Durham sometime after 1719, and repaired to London." (Kirk.115).

Dr. Kirk, in this statement, is probably quoting the MSS. at Ushaw. Amongst them is a contemporary copy of the private instructions of Bishop Smith, dated 20 April 1709: "10thly. I give to Dr. Hawarden and Mr. Perkinson to each a yearly rent of ten pounds during their natural lives if they remain so long in the Northern District and not otherwise." (1). Mr. Perkinson received other legacies under the same condition. Bishop James Smith died on 13 May 1711. The Reverend Thomas Eyre (d. 1810), in his accumulation of notes on Northern priests and missions (2)

WAS DR. EDWARD HAWARDEN A MISSIONER IN DURHAM?

states definitely: "1719. This year Rev. Edward Hawarden D.D. who had many years taught divinity at Douay College with so much credit, appears to have lived at Gilesgate, where after a few years he went to serve the Mission in London where he died in April 23, 1735."

Gillow, on the other hand, has the following account:

"When Dr. Hawarden left Douay, in 1707, the high estimation in which he was held by Dr. Smith, V.A. of the Northern District, induced that prelate to desire to have him near to his own person, and he accordingly placed him at Gilligate, in Durham. When the bishop made his will, in 1709, he appointed Dr. Hawarden one of his trustees, and left him an annuity of £10, on condition that he should continue to reside in the North.

Soon after his arrival in England, Dr. Hawarden was chosen a member of the English chapter, and, in 1710, was appointed an arch-deacon. How long he resided in Durham does not appear, but it is evident from the "Tyldesley Diary" that he was in charge of the mission at Aldcliffe Hall, near Lancaster, soon after Bishop Smith's death in 1711, for the diarist frequently records his attendance at the doctor's Mass, both at Aldcliffe and in his own house in Leonard Gate, Lancaster, in the years 1712-13-14 . . .

. . . Dr. Hawarden had been appointed "Catholic controversy-writer", and no doubt this also would influence his removal to London, where he might more easily watch the works issued against the Church, and have the convenience of books necessary to answer them. Anyhow he was settled in London before 1719." (Gillow. III. 172, 73).

Gillow had access to Kirk's MS. Collections and his

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account is largely based on that of Kirk, but he at least proves that Dr. Hawarden must have left Durham before 1712 and thinks that he remained in Lancashire until c. 1716 when he went to London. The fact that Bishop Smith died in 1711 is an additional argument. It if can be supposed that Eyre wrote 1719 in error for 1709, and that the latter is the true date, all authorities agree, since Kirk is copying Eyre.

A negative argument against Dr. Hawarden's ever having resided in Durham could perhaps be drawn from the absence of his name in two places. Neither his signature nor his name appears anywhere among the books and papers of the Common Clergy Fund for Northumberland and Durham, which date from 1691; and the Reverend John Cotes, in his list of clergy missionaries, (3), never mentions him (though Eyre later inserted his name in the MSS. in the wrong place according to time of service).

Another way of approaching the problem is to trace the movements of the Reverend Richard Rivers who was chaplain at Gilesgate, Durham, about these years; for it is extremely unlikely that the two priests would have been there together. Rivers was certainly there in 1697. (C.R.S. IX.114). He was Superior of the Common Fund on its reorganization by Bishop Smith in 1691, and his signature occurs on documents dated 1691, 1693, 1704, 1726. (4). He was at Gilesgate when Bishop Williams confirmed in Durham in 1729 (C.R.S. XXV.114), and there he died, a very old man, in 1731. (5). More to the point, he is mentioned as being in Durham in Bishop Smith's private instructions, dated 20 April 1709: "To Mr. Rivers of Durham 1 guinea with the use of the custodium to the chapel in his and the clergy's care for ever." (6). Was he ever away from Durham? The answer appears to be yes. At some period before his death

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(13 May 1711) Bishop Smith seems to have asked for an account of the capital of the Fund and of the subscribers to it, and the then Secretary consulted Mr. Ashmall and Mr. Yaxley - not Mr. Rivers; from which it may be argued that there was a time when Rivers had ceased to be a superior of the Fund and even a member. A more definite piece of evidence is the fact that his signature is crossed out in one list of members and that he signed again later on the same page; this second entry is dated 24 February 1717/18. (4). Moreover his absence from Durham is borne out by the fact that his name appears among the names of the Lancashire Clergy Common Fund, though the date is unfortunately not indicated. (Kirk. 261).

What conclusion can be drawn from this evidence? Mr. Rivers appears to have been away from Gilesgate at some time after April 1709 until about 1717 (though there is no definite proof that he was there a second time before 1729). It is very unlikely that Dr. Hawarden arrived at Gilesgate after the death of Bishop Smith in 1711, especially since he is known to have been in Lancashire in 1712 and later. The only time when he could have been at Gilesgate was from about 1709 to 1711. If he left in about 1711, some yet untraced priest must have taken his place, or the chaplaincy must have remained vacant until Mr. Rivers's return.

NOTES

- (1) The copy is at Ushaw College. It will be found in a bound volume of manuscripts: Ushaw Collection MSS. vol. III. 62c.

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- (2) Most of the Eyre Papers at Ushaw are unindexed. The note will be found in the transcript: Eyre Papers (Cabinet Papers). p.32.
- (3) Rev. John Cotes (d.1794) made up this list for Eyre apparently from MSS. in his care as Superior of the Common Clergy Fund (now the Northern Brethern's Fund), some of which are now missing. Mr. Cotes's own list is at present mislaid at Ushaw, but a copy of it will be found in Eyre Papers Transcripts. pp.21, et. seq.
- (4) All these MSS. are in the Archives of the Northern Brethern's Fund in charge of the Treasurer and Secretary.
- (5) The probate of his will is in the Archives of the Diocese of Hexham and Newcastle. It is dated 27 January 1730. In it Mr. Rivers styles himself "Richard Rivers so called of the parish of St. Giles." The Eyre Papers state that he died "universally beloved on Dec. 13, 1731." But his tombstone, now missing from St. Giles' churchyard, was - according to Robert Surtees - inscribed: "Mr. Richard Rivers, Nov. 27, 1731 aet. 84." (The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham. vol.IV. pt.2. p.59).
- (6) Ushaw Collection MSS. vol.III. 62c.

THE BERKELEYS OF SPETCHLEY AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE SURVIVAL
OF THE FAITH IN WORCESTERSHIRE

T. B. Trappes-Lomax

Rowland Berkeley, who bought Spetchley in 1606, was a Protestant, as was his son, Sir Robert, who died in 1656. Sir Robert Berkeley disinherited his only son, Thomas, because he became a Catholic and married a Catholic wife (c. 1649); and he left his property to Thomas's elder son, Robert, who was born in 1650, provided that when he reached the age of twenty-one he was a Protestant.

Spetchley was consequently in the hands of trustees from 1656 until 1671, when Robert, who had been placed under the guardianship of Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and who complied with the condition imposed by his grandfather, inherited it. But the trustees, rather than let the house or leave it standing empty, (1), had permitted Robert's disinherited father to occupy it from 1656; and this he continued to do until 1673, shortly after the Protestant heir came of age, when he retired to a house on the Spetchley property, now a farm, called Ravenshill. Here his wife, who belonged to the ancient and unswervingly Catholic family of Darell, of Scotney Castle in Kent, died on 18 September 1692. Thomas Berkeley himself died in December of the following year.

While Thomas Berkeley and Anne Darell, his wife, were prevented, presumably by the trustees, from bringing up their eldest son as a Catholic, they were free to give their second son, Thomas, the Catholic education which they could not give his elder brother. When, therefore, the latter died in 1694

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without issue, (2), the succession passed to his Catholic brother, and Spetchley has remained a Catholic house to this day.

No evidence survives as to whether Thomas Berkeley was permitted by the trustees to have a Catholic chapel during the period (1656-1673) when he occupied Spetchley, but he certainly provided himself with one at Ravenshill as early as 1681. (3). (Foley. IV. 282). In 1687 the Jesuits had "some books at Ravenshill, two fair vestments, one old black vestment, a large mantle of silk to make another, a very fair chalice, a trunk of young Mr. Berkeley's and a silver crucifix upon an ebony cross." (Catalogue of articles, dated 1687, belonging to the Jesuit Worcestershire District, otherwise known as the College of St. George, printed in Foley, ibid.)

The only chaplain (4) before the end of the seventeenth century whose name has survived is Charles Wilson S.J., who is said to have been at Spetchley before, and probably in, 1693. Since Robert Berkeley, the Protestant owner of Spetchley, did not die till 1694, Wilson must have lived with Thomas Berkeley at Ravenshill. By 1694 he had gone to the Jesuit Suffolk District. (Foley. V. 855, VII. 850).

Nicholas Griffin S.J., who was at Spetchley from 1701 to 1704, was the first chaplain who is known to have lived in the house. (Foley. VII. 319). The accounts of the Jesuit College of St. George contain, under the date 23 May 1702, the following expenditure on his behalf:

"Stockings	3 6
shoes and buckles	6
boots	10
wig	1

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linen	2	11	8
sword and belt		11	
portmantle		7	
shag breeches		16	
frieze coat	1	5	6 " (Foley. V.855).

So it seems that, as late as the early eighteenth century, at least one Jesuit wore a sword in order to help complete his disguise.

Edward Aspinall, alias or vere Pinnington, S.J., appears to have been at Spetchley in 1707 and 1708. He apostatised in 1710 and was rewarded for a book which he wrote against the Catholics, with a prebendal stall in Westminster Abbey. (Foley. VII.20).

Henry Bolt, or Boulton, alias McIntosh, S.J., came to Spetchley at some time after 1704 when he was at Watten. His address, at some date within the period 1727-1734, was "at Mr. Berkeley's of Spetchley." He probably succeeded Aspinall and left on his appointment to the Rectorship of Liège in 1734. (Foley. VII.74; C.R.S. XIII.177).

The next chaplain of whom record survives was Francis Bruning, O.S.B., who was at Spetchley from 1741 to his death on 26 May 1747 (Birt.97). The Spetchley parish register records that he was buried on 29 May 1747.

Bruning was succeeded in 1747 by Edward (Gregory) Pigott, O.S.B., (Birt.98). According to Birt, Pigott remained at Spetchley until his death on 20 August 1749; there is no record of his burial, however, in the Spetchley parish register.

Again according to Birt, Philip (Wilfrid) Constable, O.S.B., was chaplain at Spetchley from 1749 until his death on

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27 December 1764 (Birt.105), but there is no entry of his burial in the Spetchley parish register, and a manuscript list of the Spetchley chaplains, which is preserved at Spetchley (5) (and which will be referred to henceforward as the Chichester MS.), says that he arrived in 1750 and left in 1762.

Birt states that William (Lawrence) Hardesty, O.S.B., came to Spetchley in 1761. (Birt.115). It is not easy to reconcile this with Constable's departure in 1762 or after, but it is perhaps possible that, in his later years, Constable was in poor health and needed an assistant. Hardesty died abroad in 1787. (Birt.115). It is not certain when he left Spetchley; possibly it was in 1763, by which year Thomas Phillips had arrived there.

Thomas Phillips, S.J., was at Spetchley from 1763 to 1765 or (less probably) 1766. (Foley. V.855-858; VII.597. Chichester MS.) It was at Spetchley that he completed his Life of Cardinal Pole, which was printed at Oxford in 1764. (6).

Phillips was succeeded, probably in 1766, by Andrew George Colgrave, S.J., who died at Spetchley on 19 October 1768. (Foley. VII.146) He was buried at Spetchley, according to the parish register, under the erroneous christian name of Abraham, on 21 October 1768.

Thomas Falkner, S.J., came to Spetchley probably in 1769 (7) and left before 1773, probably in 1771. (Foley. IV. 564; V.855; VII.243-245. Chichester MS.)

Andrew Robinson, S.J., arrived at Spetchley from Swynnerton Park, Staffordshire, before 1773 but not as early as

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1771. (Foley. V.841; VII. cxxxviii, 657). The Chichester MS. may well be right in making him arrive in 1772. There is some doubt as to the year of his departure. The Chichester MS. says that he left in 1795, but this may be merely a deduction from the fact that the secular priest, George Hartley, came to Spetchley in that year. According to Kirk, Robinson went to Grafton Hall, Worcestershire, on the death of John Baynham, S.J. (Kirk. 200). Baynham's death took place at Grafton in February 1796. If Robinson went direct to Grafton from Spetchley in 1796, he must have overlapped for a short period at Spetchley with Hartley - which is inherently improbable. A possible solution is that Robinson may have gone to the Jesuit mission at Worcester on the death of Thomas Sanders, S.J., which took place on 12 November 1790, and that, from then onwards, he merely supplied at Spetchley - a distance of three miles - until Hartley's arrival.

The secular priest, George Hartley, arrived at Spetchley in 1795 and remained until 1803. (Kirk. 112. Gillow Historical Account of Lisbon College. 211. Chichester MS.)

The Chichester MS. states that a priest called Wilkinson died at Spetchley on 23 March 1803, but the Spetchley parish register does not show the burial of any Wilkinson in March or April of that year. The Chichester MS. is almost certainly in error on this point for another manuscript preserved at Spetchley shows that "William Wilkinson, a priest from St. Omers" lived with Robert Berkeley (1764-1845) and Apollonia Lee, his wife, whom he married in 1792, at Hadspen, near Castle Cary, Somerset, from 5 March 1793 to 18 June 1799. This William Wilkinson is certainly to be identified with the secular priest of the name

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who was President of St. Omers from 1773 to 1787. He came to England soon after leaving St. Omers and died at Bath on 24 March 1803. (Kirk. 250. Douai Diaries 1 & 2. 69-72, 75, 76. Southwark Archives: MS. no. 17). It is possible that Robert Berkeley left Hadspen in 1799 to look after his father who was then eighty-six years old and that he brought Wilkinson with him to Spetchley for a time.

The Chichester MS. describes the next chaplain as "Vincent, a Frenchman" and says that he was at Spetchley from 1804 to 1806. This may be an error due to the confusion of two priests: 1) James (Vincent) Bowyer, O.P., who was certainly chaplain at Spetchley for a short time at some date after 1802 and before 1807 (Palmer.22); 2) the abbé Jacques Quenel, who escaped from France at the Revolution, was stationed at Worcester after a period at Wolverhampton, and occasionally said mass at Spetchley. He subsequently married at Worcester and continued to live in the town until his death. (Kirk. 193).

John (Ambrose) Woods, O.P., was tutor to Robert Berkeley (1794-1874) from May 1811 to 11 March 1812. (Palmer.26).

The secular priest, Francis Lycett, was chaplain from 1807 to September 1840. (Chichester MS.)

Lycett was succeeded by R. Higgins, another secular, who left on 29 August 1842. (Chichester MS.)

Henry Mahon, S.J., came in September 1842 and left in September 1847. He was Rector of the College of St. George during this period. (Foley. VII.476).

Mahon's successor presents a problem. The Chichester

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MS. calls him W. Clifford, S.J., and says that he arrived on 29 January 1847. That he was a Jesuit is fairly certain, since the Jesuits held the chaplaincy till 1855 (Foley. V.855); but there was no Jesuit of this name living in 1847.

A. Delarue, a secular, arrived at Spetchley on 3 December 1855. He was still there in 1874 (Chichester MS.), and he left in 1876 (Catholic Directory).

Subsequent chaplains have been:-

Frederic Jones	1876-1879
Hugh Taylor	1879-1884
John Nock	1884-1887
J.F. Piris	1887-1894
N.H. Higginson	1894-1896
J. McCarthy	1896-1899
James Kearney	1899-1903
Walter Höfler	1903-1904
James Whelan	1904-1906
James Moore	1906-1908
Norman Holly (8)	1908-1914
Lambert Cuypers, O.P. (9)	1914-1919
Harold Burton	1919-1923
Monsignor Walter Comyn	1923-1925
E.R. Grimes	1925
Norbert Wylie, O.P. (10)	1925-1926
William Connick	1926-1929
Christopher Heron	1929-1932
Arthur Hoole	1932-1935
Christopher Heron	1935-1937
Leonard O'Hanlon, O.P.	1937-1940

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In 1940 the chaplaincy was given up, but the Jesuits in Worcester have served the Spetchley chapel (11) since that year.

The Berkeleys were among those Catholic families, such as the Welds of Lulworth, the Gages of Hengrave, the Tasburghs of Bodney and the Smythes of Acton Burnell, which came to the assistance of the English religious communities expelled from France at the Revolution. In 1795 Robert Berkeley offered Churchill Wood Farm, in Churchill parish and on the Spetchley property which had been bought by Rowland Berkeley in 1610, to the Poor Clares from Dunkirk, (12), and he built a chapel for them at the back of the farm house. (13). The nuns' chaplain, George Apedaile, a secular priest, who accompanied them from Dunkirk, died at Churchill Wood Farm on 26 February 1799. (Kirk.4). His successor, William Southworth, accompanied the nuns when they moved from Churchill Wood Farm to Wyre Piddle, near Pershore. He died at Wyre Piddle on 28 April 1814. (Kirk.216). His body was brought back to Churchill and buried. In the graveyard of Churchill parish church there is a gravestone recording the burials of Apedaile and his successor:

"Hic iacet corpus reverendi Georgius Apedaile sacerdotis catholici qui obit Feb. 26 anno Domini 1799 aetatis 62 olim Dunker. Requiescat in pace. Amen.

Here repose the bodies of English nuns of the order of Poor Clares, who when banished from Dunkirk by the fury of the French Revolution about 1792 found refuge in Churchill. Also the body of Rev. William Southwith, chaplain to the above nuns at Wood House, Churchill 1813 aged 61 years."

It will be seen that the gravestone records the burial of some of the nuns. The only entry in the Churchill parish register, however, which is clearly recognizable as that of a nun, is the following: "Mother Mary Barnaby died 2 June 1814 aged 88", and it is added that she died at "Wyre Piddle".

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The Berkeleys rendered another service to the cause of religion in connection with a farm called Evelench which was given, about the year 1690, by the Wintours of Huddington to the Worcester Jesuits. As the Society was proscribed by law, it could not hold property in its own name. The Berkeleys accordingly consented to act for it, and they held Evelench on behalf of the Jesuits until it was sold in about 1850.

Successive Owners of Spetchley and their Wives

	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
1) Rowland Berkeley, a Protestant, who bought Spetchley in 1606 from Philip Sheldon. m. Catherine da. of Thomas Heywood.	c.1548	1 June 1611
2) Sir Robert Berkeley, 2nd s. of 1, a Protestant, m. Elizabeth da. & h. of Thomas Conyers of East Barnet, Herts. She d. 1659.	26 July 1584	5 August 1656
3) Thomas Berkeley o.s. of 2, became a Catholic c. 1649. m. at Brussel Anne da. of William Darell of Scotney, Kent. She d. 18 Sept. 1692.	c.1630	Dec.1693
4) Robert Berkeley 1st s. of 3, a Protestant. m. 1678 Elizabeth da. of Sir Richard Blake of St. John's Clerkenwell. She m. 2ndly Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, and d. 3 Feb. 1708/9.	15 July 1650	14 Jan. 1694
5) Thomas Berkeley br. of 4. m. 1stly Elizabeth da. of John Holyoke 2nd s. of John Holyoke of Morton Bagot, Warwickshire. She d. 27 Feb. 1691. 2ndly Mary Woolmer who d. 12 March 1725.	1652	5 Aug. 1719

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	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
6) John Berkeley s. of 5 by 1st wife. m. 1710 Judith da. of James Hacon of Mutford, Suffolk.	1683	2 Sept. 1741
7) Thomas Berkeley s. of 6. m. Mary da. of Edward Ferrers of Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire. She m. 2ndly Francis Cholmeley of Brandsby, Yorks.	----	early 1742
8) Thomas Berkeley unclé of 7, of Clytha, Monmouthshire, jure uxoris. m. 1712 Mary da. & h. of Robert Davies of Clytha.	----	18 April 1756 at Liège
9) Robert Berkeley s. of 8. m. 1stly Anne da. & coh. of John Wybarne, sister & coh. of John Wybarne of Flixton, Suffolk. 2ndly Catherine da. of Thomas Fitzherbert of Swynn- erton. 3rdly 1778 Elizabeth da. of Peter (or Thomas) Parry of Twysog, Denbighshire. She d. 4 June 1811.	1713	19 Dec. 1804
10) Robert Berkeley nephew of 9. m. 1792 Apollonia da. of Richard Lee of Llanfoist, Monmouthshire. She d. 3 April 1806.	25 Nov. 1764	14 June 1845
11) Robert Berkeley o.s. of 10. m. 1822 Henrietta Sophia da. & coh. of Paul Benfield. She d. 1857.	21 May 1794	26 Sept. 1874
12) Robert Berkeley s. of 11. m. 1851 Lady Mary Catherine Browne da. of Thomas 3rd Earl of Kenmare.	9 Oct. 1823	9 Sept. 1897
13) Robert Valentine Berkeley s. of 12. m. 1891 Rose da. of Frederick Willmott of Warley Place, Essex. She d. 1922.	29 April 1853	1940

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	<u>Born</u>	<u>Died</u>
14) Robert George Willmott Berkeley s. of 13. m. 1927 Hon. Myrtle Dormer da. of Charles 14th Lord Dormer.	23 April 1891	
15) Robert John Grantley Berkeley s. of 14.	24 July 1931	

NOTES

- (1) The original house was burned in 1650 or 1651 by the Royalists. Sir Robert did not rebuild it but converted the stables into a dwelling which was occupied by his descendants until the present house was completed in 1821. (Victoria County History of Worcestershire. III.525,526).
- (2) He and his wife were such strong Protestants that they left England, probably on the accession of James II, and only returned when the Prince of Orange, of whom they were strong supporters, had ousted his father-in-law.
- (3) When Robert Berkeley of Spetchley and I visited Ravenshill in 1950, we could not discover any clue as to which room had been the chapel. If the common practice was followed, it was probably in the garrets under the roof. Nor could we find the priest's hiding place which is said by tradition to have been entered from the wall of the moat. Since our visit, Mr. Matley Moore has, at Robert Berkeley's request, made a careful examination of the building. He reports,
1) that the present house was certainly built before 1681,
2) that it has evidently been used at some period as a gentleman's residence, as is shown by the good carved doors

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and panelling, 3) that there are traces of a moat which once surrounded the house and which was probably made for an earlier building on the same site. He suggests that the chapel was one of the rooms under the roof and that a small window leading out on to the roof was used as an escape for the priest.

- (4) If "John Wallen, priest, sonne of John Wallen", who was buried at Spetchley on 9 February 1637 (Spetchley parish register), was a Catholic priest, his presence at Spetchley can have had nothing to do with the Berkeleys. As his father belonged to Spetchley, he was probably living with his family. Curiously enough, his sister, Elizabeth, died three days later. It is very unlikely that he was a Catholic priest at all; it would have been most unusual for the Anglican parson to have described a Catholic priest in his register simply as "priest" - the usual formula was "a reputed Popish priest" or some similar phrase. There appears to be no independent evidence for the existence of a Catholic priest of the name.
- (5) This manuscript was written by Ethelreda Mary Berkeley (d.1924), daughter of Robert Berkeley of Spetchley (d.1897) and wife of Joseph Chichester of Calverleigh, Devon. Unfortunately she cites no authorities for her statements, but I am informed by the present (1950) owner of Spetchley, her nephew, that she had free access to the Spetchley muniment room for the purpose of compiling her list.
- (6) He wrote a number of other books and shared his literary leanings with his host, Robert Berkeley (1713-1804), who wrote Considerations on the Oath of Supremacy and Considerations on the Declaration against Transubstantiation. De Backer attributes to Phillips a work called Reasons for

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the Repeal of the Laws against the Papists which appeared under Robert Berkeley's name. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that Robert Berkeley was prominent among the small group of laymen who organised the Address to the King, in 1798, and negotiated the First Catholic Relief Act of that year. (D.N.B.; Burton: Life and Times of Bishop Challoner. II. 191, 207).

- (7) He had travelled, in 1731, as a medical officer to the Guinea coast of Africa and thence to Buenos Ayres where the Jesuits treated him so well that he not only became a Catholic but joined the Society, in which he spent thirty eight years as a missionary to South America. He wrote several learned works, including A Description of Patagonia, a valuable record of a country then comparatively unknown.
- (8) He is now Dom Ambrose, O.S.B. He founded the parish of Pershore and built the church, and he then joined the Caldey Fathers.
- (9) Also other Dominicans at this period, including Humbert Everest (afterwards Provincial), Wulstan McCuskern (Prior of Woodchester), Raphael Moss.
- (10) He apostatised in 1926, became a Protestant rector at Reading, and died in 1927, refusing on his deathbed to see Hugh Pope, O.P.
- (11) This chapel was built at the same time as the present house, i.e. between 1811 and 1821. A school, designed by the elder Pugin, was added by the Berkeley family in about 1845. For some years nuns of the Order of Sisters of St. Paul taught in it. The last Superioress, Mother Mary, went to

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nurse the wounded in the Franco-Prussian War and was killed by a bullet on the battlefield.

- (12) The community had been established at Dunkirk in 1623 or 1625. It died out (as a separate community) in about 1815.
- (13) The existing building is not the one in which the nuns lived. The original chapel and farmhouse were burned down in about 1912.
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THE MAWHOODS OF SMITHFIELD AND FINCHLEY

E. E. Reynolds

There is a notice of William Mawhood (1724-1797) in Gillow (IV. 543-4); this was included presumably because of his diary notebooks (1764-1790), which contain valuable information relating to the history of Catholicism in England during the period of the Gordon Riots. The Catholic Record Society has in preparation for issue to its members an edition of the diary covering all those matters of Catholic interest to which it refers. The editorial work on this has necessitated a study of the Mawhood family. The following pages summarise the results of that research as far as it has gone. There are a number of errors in Gillow's account to be corrected.

The Mawhoods were of Yorkshire (W.R.) extraction; one branch used the spelling 'Maud(e)' and this probably represents the pronunciation of the full form. Richard, the son of John Mawhood of Ardesley (will proved, 1628), married Alice Turner (d. 15 Jan. 1713/14), one of the ten daughters of Sir William Turner (1) of Billham Grange, Kent. Another of these daughters, Edith, married Alexander Pope, and their son was the poet of that name. Apart from this distant connexion there is no trace of a Catholic association until we reach WILLIAM MAWHOOD (1682-1757), the father of the diarist. It will be clearer if we refer to him as William Mawhood, Senior. He was the grandson of Richard Mawhood of Ardesley, and the son of William Mawhood of Ardesley (1647-1725) and Mary (née Hall, 1662-1690). He came up to London towards the end of the seventeenth century, and was bound apprentice to his uncle Samuel Mawhood (1655-1736), woollen-draper of Snowhill, near

Smithfield, who was a liveryman of the Fishmongers' Company, to the freedom of which his nephew was admitted by service on 19 March 1706. (2). The diarist was probably also a member of that Company but the records do not cover his period; he was certainly (as his will states) a Freeman of the City of London, and this was probably due to membership of a Livery Company.

In 1707 or 1708 William Mawhood, Senior, married (3) Mary, the widow of Ralph Living, (4), a woollen-draper of 56 Duck Lane (now Little Britain), West Smithfield. She was the daughter of Thomas Pace (or Payce), woollen-draper of Smithfield and a liveryman of the Merchant Taylors' Company. (5). She was baptised at St. Bartholomew-the-Great on 7 January 1686. Ralph Living had died within a year of his marriage and had left no child. It seems likely therefore that William Mawhood, Senior, was materially helped in establishing himself through the trade of his wife's first husband and through that of her father whose eldest son became a Tea-Man, not a woollen-draper. As Samuel Mawhood had only a daughter, part of his trade may also have gone to his nephew. William Mawhood, Senior, took over Ralph Living's shop just to the right of the Gatehouse of St. Bartholomew's, and there the Mawhoods carried on the business of woollen-draper until 1815.

William and Mary Mawhood, Senior, had nine children, baptised at St. Bartholomew's. Only three children survived infancy: Thomas (bap. 11 Dec. 1709), Mary (bap. 22 March 1712/13), and William (bap. 13 Dec. 1724). Thomas was indentured to his father on 2 Feb. 1725/6, but he died in 1752 and was buried in St. Bartholomew's on 17 September. It was therefore the youngest child, William, the diarist, who inherited the business.

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There is no evidence as to when, or under what influence, William Mawhood, Senior, took the dangerous step of becoming a Catholic. That he was a convert may be assumed from the fact that, as far as the records show, not one of his near relatives was a Catholic; the positions they occupied - soldiers, Town Clerks, Mayors, etc. - preclude that possibility.

By 1709 (when he was assessed for Poor Rate) William Mawhood, Senior, was living in the house to the right of the Gatehouse of St. Bartholomew's; the Gatehouse itself was probably part of his own house. The shop was second from the gate. His business affairs prospered. In 1741 he bought five acres of land at East End, Finchley, and he and his son added to this until they owned thirty-five acres. (6). The position of this property is now roughly contained by Green Lane, East End Rd., Church Lane and the railway. About a third of the estate is now occupied by the Convent of the Good Shepherd; the rest is now built over, and the Mawhood's house (where Bishop Challoner was sheltered during the Gordon Riots) was pulled down early in the present century. (7).

William Mawhood, Senior, was an active member of the Vestry (a select one) of St. Bartholomew's, as were his son and grandson after him. The Vestry Minute Book (in the Guildhall Library) shows that he attended from time to time. On 6 July 1715, for instance, it is recorded that he rented part of a pew in the church. His son did the same. There is nothing to show that either of them used it. It may have been customary for a Vestry Man to rent a pew, the payments being used for the poor. Then, on 25 April 1717, William Mawhood, Senior, paid £15 as a fine to be released from acting as Churchwarden. His son paid £20 in 1754 for the same reason. There was nothing exceptional about this. Vestry Men who did not wish to fill any of the parish offices were

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normally excused on paying a suitable sum for the relief of the poor. (8).

William Mawhood, Senior, died on 30 August 1757, and his wife on 7 January 1760; both were buried in the middle aisle of the Church.

WILLIAM MAWHOOD, the diarist, was baptised at St. Bartholomew's on 13 December 1724. A note in his diary tells us that he was born on 8 December. All we know of his boyhood is that he went to the Jesuit College at St. Omer. Fortunately he mentions this in the diary, for the only other source of information is a little confusing. On a visit to the town in August 1774 he recorded that he went out to Arques where he "used to walk when a boy at college." An account book at Stonyhurst is the only other document available:

"(Received)

1736/7 Feb. 9. Of Mr Maud for a year for his son at
Bl-ke, (9), £25

1737 Sept. 1. Of Mr Maude for the use of his son
Thomas, £9

(Spent)

1735/6 March 2. For a box with things for Maud, etc. 1/2."

The confusion is caused by the use of the name Thomas, since Thomas Mawhood was 28 years old in 1737; his brother William being then 13. It will be noted that the spelling "Maud(e)" is used.

The next date that can be given is from the marriage register of the Parish Church, Richmond, Surrey.

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"Wm. Mawhood of the Parish of St. Bartholomew-the-Great in the County of Middlesex, a Bachelor, And Dorothy Kroger, of Chobham in Surrey, Spinster." (Dated, 15 May 1751).

Dorothy Kroger was the eldest child of William Kroger, Brewer, of Clerkenwell, who died in 1741. (10). There is no information of a Catholic marriage.

There were eight children by this marriage. Three were baptised at St. Bartholomew's, and three, perhaps four, by Bishop Challoner.

Baptised at St. Bartholomew's

Dorothy	b.11 March	bap. 2 April 1752
Maria	b.22 Feb.	bap. 22 March 1753
William	b. 6 Oct.	bap. 1 Nov. 1754

He died in 1757 and was buried 1 Sep. "facing the Clerk's desk."

Baptised by Bishop Challoner (and not at St. Bartholomew's).

William John	b. 31 Aug.	bap. 3 Sep. 1760
Charles	b. 4 March	bap. 5 March 1762
Elizabeth	b. ?	bap. 27 Dec. 1763

These last three baptisms are recorded in Registrum baptismale Cleri saecularis Catholici Londini (West.Archives), which also records the birth of Lucy Mawhood, on 5 January 1769, but not her baptism. The diary records the birth of Catherine on 20 June 1765 and her death on 24 April 1766, but there is no record of her baptism. (11).

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Gillow describes William Mawhood, Senior, as "an extensive woollen merchant and army clothier". This is misleading. The Mawhoods were woollen-drapers, i.e. they sold cloth which they bought from West Country clothiers (makers of cloth), William Mawhood, Senior, may have been an army clothing contractor, but there is no evidence for this. His son, the diarist, carried out two army contracts but these formed but a small proportion of his trade. Both were for his cousin, Colonel Charles Mawhood. (12). Gillow confuses this Colonel Charles with William Mawhood's second son, Charles, who was not a soldier. It was only the eldest son, William John, who entered the army.

Here it is convenient to correct another statement made by Gillow. He writes "Dorothy (daughter of the diarist), born May 1754 (sic), was at one time solicited in marriage for Charles Talbot, subsequently sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury". There is no evidence for this in the diary, but there is a record of a proposal made by Bishop James Talbot that one of his nieces should marry Charles Mawhood, the younger son. The negotiations broke down as the niece had more ambitious plans. Gillow is also wrong in giving the date of Dorothy's death as 19 Feb. 1831. She was married to Thomas Corney in 1791 and died 27 May 1806 (as recorded in Laity's Directory). Her husband died 26 Sep. 1811.

William Mawhood, the diarist, was a hard-working and shrewd business man, but he had many other interests, not the least of which was his family. His chief relaxation was music. He played the organ and the harpsichord. He sometimes played the organ at the Sardinian Chapel, and he was a voluntary member of the choir. This Chapel may be regarded as his Parish Church, although he went sometimes to the other Embassy Chapels, and frequently to Moorfields which he supported financially. He belonged to the Madrigal Society as a 'performing' member, and to

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the Academy of Antient Music. His Finchley estate was another source of happiness to him, and the diary contains many notes of planting, hay-making, and other country occupations.

His devotion to the Church deepened with the years. The family went to Mass every Sunday ('prayers' or 'high prayers'), and occasionally Mass was said at their Smithfield house or at Finchley. After Mass they usually returned to, or went out to, Finchley for dinner, taking a friend or two with them, for they were very fond of company. But attendance at Mass was not limited to Sundays. The analysis of one year, 1779, gives the following facts for William Mawhood himself: 72 attendances at Mass, 23 at Vespers, and 4 at Compline. Benediction is mentioned twice.

The Mawhoods went to Bishop Challoner for Confession (called in the diary 'the necessary'). The last occasion was on 30 Dec. 1780: "At the Bishop's. Self and Mrs. Mawhood did the necessary." Within a fortnight the Bishop was dead. After that they went to John Lindow. Communion was not frequent, perhaps four or five times in the year. William Mawhood often went to The Ship alehouse to hear 'the Bishop's Discourse'. He also attended the meetings and dinners in support of 'the Charity'.

Between 1765 and 1785 he visited St. Omer ten times, staying usually for a fortnight. Most of these visits were in connexion with the education of his children, but he evidently delighted in going there, and he formed a circle of friends amongst the priests of the College and in the English community living there. Perhaps one of the attractions was that he could have an orgy of organ playing, for he seems to have played at every church in the town.

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His friendliness with priests is an outstanding feature of the diary. Over one hundred are mentioned. They came to his town house for meals or for social evenings with cards and music. Many stayed at Finchley, sometimes to recover after an illness. Mention is made in the diary of gifts of suits of clothes and of greatcoats - welcome presents for priests who lived on the verge of poverty. His chief friends were William Anstead (1737-1791), one of the chaplains at the Sardinian Chapel; John Lindow (1729-1806), one of Bishop Challoner's chaplains; Joseph Bolton (1736-1783), another of the Bishop's chaplains; James Barnard (1733-1803), the Bishop's biographer; and Thomas Horrabin (d.1801), who was the agent for the schools and colleges.

The Mawhood children were at first educated at home, by tutors, for reading and writing, dancing and music. The girls went on to the Convent school at Hammersmith, and Dorothy, the eldest, finished her schooling there. Maria and Elizabeth went to the Ursulines at St. Omer, and later to the English Convent at Bruges, where the youngest, Lucy, joined them.

The two boys, William John, and Charles, were amongst the first pupils of the Old Hall Green Academy. Their father took them there on 16 Oct. 1769. The first half-year's fees for both together came to £25. 9.11. They left in April 1771 and went to James Usher's (13) school in Kensington Gravel Pits (now the Bayswater Rd.), where they remained until Usher's death in 1772. The volume of the diary for the last half of 1772 is missing, but at some date during that period they went to Sedgley Park, where they remained until April 1774. For over a year they had private tutors at home; then came the last period of regular schooling, when they went to the French College at St. Omer for a year. They came home in October 1776;

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William John being then 16 years old, and his brother, Charles, 14 years old.

William Mawhood naturally hoped that his eldest son would enter the family business, but William John wanted to be a soldier. Perhaps this was partly war fever (the American Colonies were in rebellion), and partly the unconscious influence of his father's cousin, Colonel Charles Mawhood. He had distinguished himself at the battle of Princeton (where he was beaten by Washington) and had returned to England to take command of the 17th Foot. (14). It was then that William Mawhood had his only large army clothing contract; the earlier one had been a small affair.

There seemed at first no possibility of a Catholic getting a commission in the British army, and the prospects of service in the Austrian army were considered. But the serious shortage of officers and the desperate state of affairs in America created a new situation - and opened the way to the Relief Act of 1778. It had been hoped that Lord Petre's offer to raise a Catholic regiment would be accepted, but it was refused. No doubt Colonel Mawhood used his influence. The diary however is silent on the problem of the oath which normally had to be taken. There are indications that, such was the need, considerable relaxations were allowed.

Bishop Challoner was consulted, "who informed me I had nothing to be uneasy about in regard to my son's choice" (11 Jan. 1778); and, a fortnight later, "Dorothy and William at the Bishop's, he gave William the Indulgence he wanted." Of one thing we may be certain: Bishop Challoner would not have consented to William John's taking the usual army oath.

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On 7 Oct. 1777 William John Mawhood was gazetted Ensign in the 17th. Foot at a cost to his father of £400. He sailed for America on 16 March 1778.

Meanwhile, his brother, Charles, was beginning his career in his father's business and, at first, it seemed that he would be content with his lot. During the Gordon Riots of 1780, he took his share of the family anxieties and was the messenger between Smithfield and Finchley; for safety's sake he wore a blue cockade in his hat.

It is tempting to give some account of the Riots here as seen from the point of view of a Catholic, but only a few points can be mentioned.

Mawhood's diary is a primary source on some aspects of the Riots, but it has not been adequately used for this purpose. Canon Burton gives a few extracts (Vol.2, Ch.33), but he does not see the significance of some entries. Thus he refers to "a man called Mumford" (p.254), who was then staying at Finchley, without realising that this was William Mumford, Procurator of St. Omer. Nor does he note an important entry under the date 27 May 1779, a year before the riots:

"Parson Edwardes of our Parish called with a letter, a paper and a book he had received from Coachmakers' Hall. Sent the same per son Charles to Bishop Challoner."

Coachmakers' Hall was the headquarters of Lord George Gordon's Protestant Association, and these papers were no doubt of a no-Popery kind. 'Parson Edwardes' was the Revd.O.P.Edwardes, Rector of St. Bartholomew's. (William Mawhood always

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distinguished between a Catholic priest as "sacerdos", and a Protestant clergyman as "parson".) On 5 Feb. 1780 he noted, "Mr. Edwardes the Parson called; has rejected Lord George Gordon's petition". These facts illustrate the friendly relations that existed between the Rector and his Catholic Vestry Man. So too we should note how Mawhood's neighbours rallied round him in this emergency; they provided places of safety for his goods and also garrisoned the shop at the height of the Riots.

J.P. de Castro in his Gordon Riots (1926) also quotes a few passages from the diary, but as a non-Catholic he does not always grasp what was meant. One example may be given: he quotes (p.67) a passage dated "25 Jan. 1780" as beginning "Mr. Hamilton Sandos"; this should read "Mr. Hamilton, Sacerdos".

The story of how Bishop Challoner was sheltered by William Mawhood at his Finchley home from 3 to 20 June 1778, is well known and need not be repeated. (15). The account given by James Barnard in his biography of the Bishop (1784) was based on notes he made during an interview with William Mawhood on 23 July 1784, and some details are there given that are not in the diary.

The normal course of life was quickly resumed after the Riots. But William Mawhood's days of content in family and business affairs were over; for the rest of his life he was constantly worried by the vagaries of his two sons, and by his own increasing infirmities. William John had soon got into trouble in America. He was put under arrest for sheep-stealing, but this did not hinder the purchase of a commission as Lieutenant for an additional £200. He was taken prisoner in

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July 1779 and it was not until the end of 1781 that an exchange was made and he returned home. His was a pitiful story. As a prisoner on parole he had had nothing to do. In those days there were no chaplains (Catholic or other), and he had run into debt, taken to heavy drinking and got himself involved in some shady transactions with the regimental funds. He was rescued by a friendly Captain from the danger of being cashiered, at a cost to his father of over £300. On his return he infected his brother with his dissolute habits and disrupted the family life. It was therefore with some relief that his father saw him off to Halifax to rejoin his regiment in July 1783. A year later he returned with a wife who was unaware that he was, or had been, a Catholic. In April 1785 they returned to Halifax with some vague notion of starting trade. His father paid their passages and made an allowance of £100 a year. At parting, "I gave a Thomas à Kempis (16) and my blessing with a strict charge to do his duty to God and to be an economist."

Mrs. William John Mawhood died in 1786, and once more William John came to England. He again ran up debts, and was at length arrested. His father paid the debts and sent him off to the Low Countries as a remittance man on £100 a year as long as he kept out of England. He was also drawing £42 a year as a half-pay Lieutenant, so he was far from destitute for that period. Then he made a runaway match with the daughter of a Count Patin. This was regularised, but he had no employment. The draft of a letter from his mother is amongst the family papers; in it she suggests he should get a job, but this outrageous proposal was rejected as beneath the dignity of an English gentleman!

Charles Mawhood was a more complex character than his brother. The diary records that he took lessons in Italian and

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went to courses of lectures on elocution (described by his father as "Charles's spouting club"). But he was not happy in trade and his inclinations were towards a country life; he was more contented at Finchley than in Smithfield. In February 1781 he felt the stirrings of a vocation for the priesthood, and his father at once made preparations for him to go to Douai, but the impulse died and Charles announced that he wished "to stay in the world". Then followed several painful years of bickering and quarrelling between father and son; the root trouble was that Charles did not like business, but his father was perhaps too strict in the way in which he dealt with the problem. It was in May 1785 that Bishop Talbot put forward the proposal that his niece and Charles should be married and that her dowry should be £3000. At the end of that year Charles suddenly left home with the intention of entering the Charterhouse at Longuenesse (near St. Omer). He was refused. He then went to La Trappe and was again disappointed. No doubt it was quickly sensed that he was deluding himself; he was, in fact, trying to run away from an occupation that he found irksome and uncongenial. On his return home in May 1786 he seems to have settled down passably well.

William Mawhood did not take a very active part in Catholic affairs. He attended meetings of the Catholic Committee at the request of Bishop James Talbot, but he did not sign any of the manifestos produced. It is evident that he was not regarded with much favour by Lord Petre and Charles Butler. This may have been because he was so loyal to, first, Bishop Challoner, and then to Bishop James Talbot. Certainly his standing as a Catholic layman and as a substantial freeman of the City would have been assets to the Committee, but he was not prepared to give his full support.

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He was more interested in the proposal to build a new chapel in St. George's-in-the-fields, and he served on the committee that promoted that project. On 21 March 1790 the chapel was sufficiently ready for partial use, and he recorded that he "opened the organ" and that "Mr. Hussey preached." It was not until Passion Sunday 1793 that the building was completed, and it was then formally opened; Dr. Thomas Hussey was again the preacher, but by this time William Mawhood was a helpless invalid.

He was stricken with palsy at the end of 1790 and became bedridden. The Finchley estate was sold in 1793, and he took a house in Portman Place, Paddington. He was not allowed to pass his last years in peace. In February 1796 his son Charles threatened to take out a Commission of Lunacy against his father. The depositions prepared by his lawyer are amongst the family papers and these give us some information. Thus we learn that William John paid a secret visit to England to get money and his sudden appearance in his father's room caused a serious relapse. The suit does not seem to have been pressed.

William Mawhood died on 23 December 1797, and his wife three months later. Both were buried in St. Bartholomew's, "under the desk, Middle Aisle". (17).

A few notes on the later careers of three of the children may be of interest.

Charles Mawhood carried on the business for some years. He became a Vestry Man of St. Bartholomew's, his last attendance being on 16 Oct. 1808. His name appears in the London Directory as a woollen-draper of 56 Smithfield (really Duck Lane) for the

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last time in 1815. The family had thus occupied the same premises for over a century. He went to live at Finchley where he was assessed for rates in 1816. That is the last record of him that has been traced. His name does not appear in the registers of St. Bartholomew's or of Finchley Parish Church. There is, however, a tablet in St. Mary's, Finchley, to a George Mawhood who died in 1847, aged 37. He may have been a son (the name in that form is uncommon) but the registers throw no light on his parentage.

William John Mawhood lived with his wife and children at Menin until war drove them out. In 1796 he came to England and in December he was commissioned as a captain in the Westminster Middlesex Militia, and he became a major two years later. At the Peace of Amiens the Militia was disbanded, but when it was again formed at the renewal of war, William John's name no longer appeared in the list of officers. The last reference in the War Office records is that he died in France on 27 July 1845 at the age of 85. He had enjoyed the half-pay of a Lieutenant for sixty years! Two of his daughters, Mary and Harriet, were educated at the English Convent, Bruges.

Maria Mawhood was professed as a choir nun at the English College, Bruges, on 20 July 1779, as Sister Louisa Austin. Bruges was a battle-ground from 1790 when the Patriots of Brabant rose against the Emperor. This local war was followed by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The nuns remained at Bruges as long as they could, but at length they were forced to seek refuge in England where they arrived in the middle of 1793. William Mawhood and his eldest daughter, Dorothy Corney, gave all the help they could to the nuns who for eight years were at Hengrave Hall, near Bury St. Edmunds. They decided to return to Bruges at the Peace of Amiens, and they were the only nuns to

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return to the continent. In spite of renewed war, they remained at their convent. They owed much to the resolute leadership of Mother Mary More (a direct descendant of St. Thomas More). She died at Bruges on 5 March 1807, and she was succeeded as Prioress by Mother Louisa Austin Mawhood. After three years Mother Louisa Austin resigned at her own wish; she held other offices for short periods but she evidently preferred a more retired life. She died on 26 March 1832 at the age of seventy-nine.

NOTES

- (1) D.N.B. calls him "William Turner of York", but in the Brooke MSS. (College of Arms) he is described as above.
- (2) Information from the Clerk of the Fishmongers' Company.
- (3) No record traced.
- (4) Marriage contract in family papers.
- (5) Brooke MSS.
- (6) Middlesex Memorials, 1750-1793. (Middlesex Records Office).
- (7) Award Map, 1814, Finchley Public Library.
- (8) There is need for a study of how far Catholics during the later Penal Times were able to take part in local affairs. Thus, William Mawhood, the diarist, was Surveyor of the

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Highway, Finchley, 1772-73; no oath of allegiance was required for this particularly thankless bit of public service.

- (9) i.e. Blandike, modern Blendecques, used as a code word for St. Omers College. Blandike was their country house.
- (10) As stated in a copy of the marriage settlement in the family papers.
- (11) Canon Burton in his biography of Bishop Challoner (II.177n.) refers to a note-book, Tabula baptizatorum per me Ricardum Challoner, in the Westminster Archives. This might contain records of the baptisms of the other Mawhood children, but several searches for this valuable document have proved unsuccessful.
- (12) The Librarian of the War Office has supplied extracts from the records of this Charles Mawhood and of William John Mawhood.
- (13) See D.N.B.
- (14) He went out to Gibraltar and took part in the siege. On 29 August 1780, he committed suicide, according to his cousin, by the peculiarly uncomfortable method of swallowing nails.
- (15) See Burton's biography of Challoner, vol.II, pp.243-266. A full transcript of the relevant passages in Mawhood's diary was published in the Westminster Cathedral Chronicle,

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Jan. 1948. See also Downside Review, July 1888. Dom Charles Austin Corney, O.S.B., has in his charge the chalice used by Bishop Challoner at Finchley.

- (16) Probably Bishop Challoner's version which went through nine editions during the 18th century.
- (17) When the floor of St. Bartholomew's was lowered in 1864, "an immense mass of bones" was removed and buried in a pit in the small churchyard to the left of the pathway leading from the gatehouse to the church.

SOURCES

The Diary, now in the possession of W.J. Corney, esq., is contained in 49 note-books running to at least half-a-million words.

Family papers kindly lent by Mr. W.J. Corney. These contain letters, indentures, agreements, etc.

Brooke MSS, College of Arms. John Charles Brooke (1748-1794) and William Mawhood were both descendants of Richard Mawhood of Ardesley. 'Cousin Brooke' is frequently mentioned in the diary. The results of his investigations into the genealogy of the Mawhoods are amongst the papers he left to the College of Arms; he was Somerset Herald.

Parish Registers of St. Bartholomew-the-Great, St. Mary's, Finchley, and of the Parish Church, Richmond, Surrey.

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Vestry Minute Books of St. Bartholomew's, now in the Guildhall Library, City of London. The Minute Books of the Finchley Parish have disappeared.

The Revd. Mother Prioress of the English Convent, Bruges, has communicated extracts from the Convent Annals. These Annals were used extensively in C.S. Durrants's A Link between Flemish Mystics and English Martyrs (1925) - this clumsy and misleading title may put off many who would find this a most interesting book as it tells the story of the convents established abroad after the dissolution.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

It has unfortunately been necessary to point out several errors in Gillow's account of William Mawhood. The last paragraph of that account is not in accordance with the Brooke MSS which Gillow gives as a source. He also says that William Mawhood laid claim to an estate in Yorkshire; there is no reference to this in the diary nor in Brooke. It may be that Gillow came across a reference to a William Mawhood in Yorkshire and jumped to the conclusion that this was the same as the one of Smithfield. In the eighteenth century the name Mawhood was not uncommon in Yorkshire, e.g. in Wakefield and Doncaster.

A NOTE ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE HOUSE
IN WHICH BISHOP CHALLONER DIED

E. E. Reynolds

In his biography of Bishop Challoner (vol.II.p.272), Canon Burton states that the Bishop died at 25 Gloucester Street (now Old Gloucester Street, Queen Square, Holborn). He does not give his authority, and it may have been an oral tradition. J. P. de Castro, in his Gordon Riots (1926) p.45, makes the same statement, probably on Burton's authority.

Perhaps the most reliable of all records as to where people lived before the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 (which abolished the Vestries) are the Parish Rate Books. Unfortunately, many were destroyed in 1835 or later. Some of the Rate Books for the Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields (in which Gloucester Street was situated) are preserved at the Holborn Town Hall, but they are not complete either topographically or chronologically.

Bishop Challoner lived in houses rented in the name of Mrs. Mary Hanne (or Hanna). She is named as "my Landlady" in the Bishop's will (dated 10 May 1776), and William Mawhood refers to her by name in his diary under the dates 5, 19 and 20 June 1780. In the Rate Book for 1778 she is stated to be living at 36 Gloucester Street. The next reference to her is in 1780, when the number of the house is given as 44. The rate was collected in the middle of the year, so that it is fairly certain that at the time of the Riots (June 1780) the Bishop was

THE HOUSE IN WHICH BISHOP CHALLONER DIED

living at 44 Gloucester Street. He died in January 1781. In the Rate Book for 1781 "Mrs. Mary Hanna" is again given as the occupier of no.44. The houses have not been renumbered. Horwood's Map of London (1799) shows 44 Gloucester Street in the same place as the present 44 Old Gloucester Street. There can be little doubt, therefore, that this was the house in which the Bishop died.

The house remains much as it was structurally in Challoner's day, and for this reason it has been scheduled by the Historical Monuments Commission for preservation as a good specimen of Queen Anne domestic architecture. The bombs during the war did no material damage to it, though the other side of the street was in part destroyed. The outside of the house has frequently been repointed and new windows have been put in. The attic story is a later addition. The door, and the rails round the basement area, may well date back to Challoner's time. The inside of the house is more attractive than the outside. The rooms are small and there are two powder closets. Some of the balusters of the staircase are original.

Queen Square was named after Queen Anne, and Gloucester Street after her son, the Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1700. The whole district is a good example of eighteenth century town planning.
